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RACE MIXTURE IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

THERE is one surprise that the historian usually experiences upon his first visit to Rome. It may be at the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican or at the Lateran Museum, but, if not elsewhere, it can hardly escape him upon his first walk up the Appian Way. As he stops to decipher the names upon the old tombs that line the road, hoping to chance upon one familiar to him from his Cicero or Livy, he finds praenomen and nomen promising enough, but the cognomina all seem awry. L. Lucretius *Pamphilus,* A. Aemilius *Alexa,* M. Clodius *Philostorgus* do not smack of freshman Latin. And he will not readily find in the Roman writers now extant an answer to the questions that these inscriptions invariably raise. Do these names imply that the Roman stock was completely changed after Cicero's day, and was the satirist recording a fact when he wailed that the Tiber had captured the waters of the Syrian Orontes? If so, are these foreigners ordinary immigrants, or did Rome become a nation of ex-slaves and their offspring? Or does the abundance of Greek cognomina mean that, to a certain extent, a foreign nomenclature has gained respect, so that a Roman dignitary might, so to speak, sign a name like C. Julius Abascantus on the hotel register without any misgivings about the accommodations?

Unfortunately, most of the sociological and political data of the empire are provided by satirists. When Tacitus informs us that in Nero's day a great many of Rome's senators and knights were descendants of slaves and that the native stock had dwindled to surprisingly small proportions, we are not sure whether we are not to take it as an exaggerated thrust by an indignant Roman of the old stock. At any rate, this, like similar remarks equally indirect, receives totally different evaluation in the discussion of those who have treated of Rome's society, like Friedländer, Dill, Mommsen, Wallon,

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and Marquardt. To discover some new light upon these fundamental questions of Roman history, I have tried to gather such fragmentary data as the corpus of inscriptions might afford. This evidence is never decisive in its purport, and it is always, by the very nature of the material, partial in its scope, but at any rate it may help us to interpret our literary sources to some extent. It has at least convinced me that Juvenal and Tacitus were not exaggerating. It is probable that when these men wrote a very small percentage of the free plebeians on the streets of Rome could prove unmixed Italian descent. By far the larger part—perhaps ninety per cent.—had Oriental blood in their veins.

My first quest was for information about the stock of the ordinary citizen of Rome during the empire. In the *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions*[1] the editors, after publishing the honorary and sepulchral inscriptions of the nobles and military classes, followed by those of the slaves and humble classes which occur in the *columbaria*, gave the rest of the city's sepulchral inscriptions (19,260) in alphabetical order.[2] Of these I read the 13,900 contained in volume VI., parts 2 and 3, which, despite the occurrence of some slaves as well as of some persons of wealth, represent on the whole the ordinary type of urban plebeians. A mere classification of all these names into lists of natives on the one hand and slaves and foreigners on the other would be of little service, since, obviously, transient foreigners are of little importance in estimating the stock of the permanent population of Rome, and we must face the question at once whether or not the slave and freedman stock permanently merged into the civil population. Furthermore, such lists will be at everyone's hand as soon as the index of the sixth volume of *CIL.* is published. In reckoning up the foreign stock, therefore, I have counted only those who, according to the inscriptions, were presumably born at Rome. A somewhat arbitrary definition of limits was necessary since we are seldom given definite information about the place of birth, but as I have used the same classification for the free-born as for the slave-born the results are valid for our purposes. For instance, in getting statistics of birth, I have included all children under ten years of age, assuming that slave children under that age would rarely be brought in from abroad; and if slaves of this class are counted, the free-born of the same class must also be reckoned with. I have also included slave and free-born children who appear to be with father, mother, brother, or sister at Rome, since presumably they would have been sundered from their family if they had

1 *CIL.*, vol. VI., parts 2, 3, 4.

2 Vol. VI., part 4[2], published in 1902, contains 2572 additional inscriptions of this class.

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been brought in from the foreign market; and again, in order to reach fair results, the corresponding persons of free birth are counted. For reasons which will presently appear I have accepted the Greek cognomen as a true indication of recent foreign extraction, and, since citizens of native stock did not as a rule unite in marriage with *liberti,* a Greek cognomen in a child or one parent is sufficient evidence of status. As is well known, certain Latin cognomina, *e.g.,* Salvius, Hilarus, Fortunatus, were so frequently borne by slaves and freedmen that they were apt to be avoided by the better classes. Nevertheless, since no definite rule is attainable in the matter, I have credited the bearers of all Latin names to the native stock in all cases of doubt.[3]

Classifying in this way the names of the aforesaid 13,900 inscriptions of volume VI., parts 2 and 3, we find that of the 4485 persons apparently born at Rome, 3723 (eighty-three per cent.) fall into the list which by our criteria represents foreign extraction. This figure is probably not far from correct, but I think it would be raised somewhat if it were possible to decide what proportion of Latin cognomina conceals slaves and *liberti.* For instance, a name like Q. Manlius Restitutus (VI. 22015) would usually pass with little suspicion. But the inscription also names his father, mother, wife, and two sons, all of whom have Greek cognomina. Because of his parentage I have classed him as of foreign stock, but there are scores of brief inscriptions in which the necessary facts are not provided. In these the subject had to be classed, however erroneously, as Latin.

In order to reckon if possible the margin of error in cases like

[3] In epigraphical discussions one constantly meets with the statement that freedmen were compelled to indicate their status by the designation *lib.* or *l.* and that therefore the occurrence of the *tria nomina* without such designation is proof of free birth. Unfortunately, this rule, if indeed it was one, was so frequently broken, that it must be employed with caution. There are hundreds of obvious exceptions where *tria nomina* of respectable appearance impose upon the reader until at the end of the inscription the dedicant's designation of *patronus* or *contubernalis* or *conlibertus* betrays the real status, *e. g.,* VI. 7849, 14550, 16203, 17562, 20675, 20682, 22299, 22606, 23927, 23989. Again, numerous bearers of faultless *tria nomina* fall under strong *presumption* of being freedmen because of some official title like *sevir* or because their sons prove to belong to one of the city tribes; *cf.* X. 690, 4620, 6677; VI. 12431, 14045, 20079. Finally, there are many instances like 14018. Here a man gives the name of a large family (all with *tria nomina*) including children and a grandchild, but only the youngest, Caesonia M. F. Prima, a child of seven months, bears the *F* which definitely indicates free birth. Apparently the other members of the family were not entitled to the designation. Compare also 20123, 20339, 23813. Since in cases of doubt I have been compelled to credit bearers of Latin *tria nomina* to the native stock, it will appear that this group has more than received full credit in the accompanying lists.

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this, I have attempted to test the respectability of Latin cognomina, but with rather unsatisfactory results. I counted all the names of slaves and freedmen in the indexes of volumes V., IX., XIV., and over a thousand in volume VI., in order to get a group of five thousand bearing the prevalent slave-names. More than half (2874) have Greek names, the most popular of these being Eros (58 times), Pamphilus (36), Antiochus (34), Hermes (30), Alexander (28), Philomusus (26), Onesimus (22), Philargyrus (21), names, most of which were also very popular among free Greeks and Asiatics. Two thousand one hundred and twenty-six have Latin names, some of which occur with remarkable frequency, *e.g.*, Felix (97), Hilarus -a (64–53), Faustus -a (58–33), Salvius -a (38–18), Fortunatus -a (29–15), Primus -a (51–47), Secundus -a (25–34), Tertius -a (18–18), Auctus -a (24–15), Vitalis (36), Januarius -a (22–6). Now, if we compare these Latin names with those borne by better-class Roman plebeians, by the pretorian guards, for instance (though many descendants of slaves served even in the pretorian guards), we find, despite a certain overlapping, quite a striking difference. Apparently some names had acquired such sordid associations that they were in general avoided by ordinary plebeians. The favorite names on the pretorian lists are Maximus, Proculus, Severus, Verus, Capito, Justus, Celer, Marcellus, Clemens, Victor, and the like. We may not say that any Latin name was confined wholly to slaves, nor would it be possible to give any usable list of relative percentages, but we may at least say that the Romans recognized such names as Salvius, Hilarus, Fortunatus, Optatus, Auctus, Vitalis, Januarius, as being peculiarly appropriate to slaves; and Felix, Faustus, Primus, Primitivus, and a few others must have cast some suspicion upon the bearer. After reviewing in this light the seventeen per cent. of possible claimants of Latin origin in the alphabetical list of inscriptions in volume VI., parts 2 and 3, I have little doubt that a third of these would, with fuller evidence, be shifted into the class of non-Latins.

On the other hand, the question has been raised whether a man with a Greek cognomen must invariably be of foreign stock. Could it not be that Greek names became so popular that, like Biblical and classical names to-day, they were accepted by Romans of native stock? In the last days of the empire this may have been the case;[4]

[4] There are not enough datable inscriptions available to show whether the Greek cognomen gained or lost respectability with time. Obviously it may in general be assumed that most of the freedmen who bore the gentile name of Aelius and Aurelius belong to a later date than the general group of those named Julius and Claudius. If we may use this fact as a criterion we may decide that there was little difference between the first and the second century in this matter, since the proportion of Greek cognomina is about the same in the two groups.

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but the inscriptions prove that the Greek cognomen was not in good repute. I have tested this matter by classifying all the instances in the 13,900 inscriptions (there are 1347) where the names of both father and son appear.[5] From this it appears that fathers with Greek names are very prone to give Latin names to their children, whereas the reverse is not true. The statistics are as follows:

	Greek cognomen		Latin cognomen	
Father	859		488	
	Greek	Latin	Greek	Latin
Son	460	399	53	435

This means that in one generation Greek names diminish from sixty-four per cent. to thirty-eight per cent., or that forty-six per cent. of the fathers with Greek names give their sons Latin names, while only eleven per cent. of the Latin fathers give their sons Greek names. And this eleven per cent. dwindles upon examination into a negligible quantity. For instance, in seventeen of the fifty-three cases the mother's name is Greek, which betrays the true status of the family; and in ten other instances the son's gentile name differs from that of the "father", who is, therefore, probably a stepfather. In almost all of the other twenty-six instances, the inscription is too brief to furnish a fair criterion for judging. Clearly the Greek name was considered as a sign of dubious origin among the Roman plebeians, and the freedman family that rose to any social ambitions made short shrift of it. For these reasons, therefore, I consider that the presence of a Greek name in the immediate family is good evidence that the subject of the inscription is of servile or foreign stock. The conclusion of our pros and cons must be that nearly ninety per cent. of the Roman-born folk represented in the above-mentioned sepulchral inscriptions of *CIL.*, volume VI., parts 2 and 3, are of foreign extraction.

Who are these Romans of the new type and whence do they come? How many are immigrants, and how many are of servile extraction? Of what race are they? Seneca happens to make a remark which is often quoted as proof of extensive immigration to Rome. He writes to his mother in derision of Rome:

> Of this crowd the greater part have no country; from their own free towns and colonies, in a word, from the whole globe, they are congregated. Some are brought by ambition, some by the call of public duty,

[5] It is difficult to secure usable statistics in the case of women, since their cognomina may come from almost any relative or near friend. However, an examination of the indexes of names will show that the Greek cognomen was relatively no more popular among the women than among the men.

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or by reason of some mission, others by luxury which seeks a harbor rich and commodious for vices, others by the eager pursuit of liberal studies, others by shows, etc.[6]

Seneca apparently refers in large part to visitors, but also to immigrants. In so far as he has transients in mind we are not concerned with the passage, for such people did little to affect the permanent racial complexion of Rome's civil population. A passage in Juvenal's third satire is perhaps more to the point, for he seems to imply that the Oriental has come to stay.

> While every land . . .
> daily pours
> Its starving myriads forth. Hither they come
> To batten on the genial soil of Rome,
> Minions, then lords of every princely dome,
> Grammarian, painter, augur, rhetorician,
> Rope-dancer, conjurer, fiddler, and physician.

This passage clearly suggests that foreigners of their own free will have drifted to Rome in great numbers to make it their place of livelihood and their permanent abode. I cannot here treat the whole problem, but, while agreeing that the implication of this passage is true to a certain degree, I would question whether the generalities in it are not too sweeping. It may well be that many of the ex-slave rabble who spoke the languages of the East imposed upon the uncritical by passing as free-born immigrants. Even freedmen were not beyond pretending[7] that they had voluntarily chosen slavery as a means of attaining to Roman citizenship by way of the *vindicta*. At any rate, the Roman inscriptions have very few records of free-born foreigners. Such men, unless they attained to citizenship,[8] ought to bear names like that in no. 17171, *Dis man. Epaeneti, Epaeneti F. Ephesio,* but there are not a dozen names of this sort to be found among the inscriptions of volume VI., parts 2 and 3. Nor need we assume that many persons of this kind are concealed among the inscriptions that bear the *tria nomina,* for immigrants of this class did not often perform the services for which the state granted citizenship. There could hardly have been an influx of foreign free-born laborers at Rome, for Rome was not an industrial city and was more than well provided with poor citizens who could not compete with slaves and had to live upon the state's bounty. Indeed, an examination of the laborious article by Kühn[9] fails to reveal any free-

[6] *Ad Helviam,* 6.

[7] Petronius, 57.

[8] This criterion fails of course after citizenship was given to the provincials in the third century, but when Rome's population was decreasing there probably was not a heavy immigration.

[9] *De Opificum Romanorum Condicione* (1910).

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born foreigners among the skilled laborers of the city. In regard to shop-keepers, merchants, and traders we may refer to a careful discussion by Pârvan.[10] He has convincingly shown that the retail trade was carried on at Rome, not by foreigners but by Romans of the lower classes, mostly slaves and freedmen, and that while the provincials of Asia and Egypt continued throughout the empire to carry most of the imports of the East to Rome, the Roman houses had charge of the wholesale trade in the city. The free-born foreigner did not make any inroad upon this field. However, in various arts and crafts, such as those mentioned by Juvenal, the free immigrant could gain a livelihood at Rome. Some of the teachers of rhetoric, philosophy, and mathematics, some of the doctors, sculptors, architects, painters, and the like, were citizens of the provincial cities who went to Rome for greater remuneration. But even most of these professions were in the hands of slaves and freedmen who had been given a specialized education by their masters. In volume VI., part 2, which contains the sepulchral inscriptions classified according to arts and crafts, there is very little trace of the free-born foreigner. Among the fifty inscriptions of *medici,* for instance, only two, 9563, 9597, contain sure instances of such foreigners. Among the *grammatici, rhetores, argentarii, structores,* and *pictores,* where they might well be expected, I find no clear case. It is evident then that the sweeping statements of men like Juvenal and Seneca should not be made the basis for assuming a considerable free-born immigration that permanently altered the citizen-body of Rome. These writers apparently did not attempt to discriminate between the various classes that were speaking foreign jargons on the streets of Rome. As a matter of fact, this foreign-speaking population had, for the most part, it seems, learned the languages they used within the city itself from slaves and freedman parents of foreign birth.

If now this great crowd of the city was not of immigrant stock, but rather of servile extraction, the family life of the slaves must have been far more conducive to the propagation of that stock than is usually assumed, and, furthermore, manumission must have been practised so liberally that the slave-stock could readily merge into the citizen-body. On the latter question our sources are satisfactory; on the former, they have little to say. From Varro (II. i. 26 and x. 6) and Columella (I. 8, 19) it has been well known that slaves on farms and pasture-lands were expected to marry and have offspring. The Romans considered this good economy, both because the stock of slaves increased thereby and because the slaves

[10] *Die Nationalität der Kaufleute im Römischen Kaiserreich* (1909).

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themselves remained better satisfied with their condition. However, partly because there exists no corresponding statement regarding slaves in the city, partly because of a reckless remark made by Plutarch that Cato restricted the cohabitation of his slaves, partly, too, because service in the city household is supposed to have been very exacting, the prevalent opinion seems to be that the marriage of slaves in the urban *familia* was unusual. Hence the statement is frequently made that slavery died perforce when the *pax Romana* of the empire put an end to capture by warfare.

Fortunately the *columbaria* of several Roman households provide a fairly reliable record regarding the prevalence of marriage among city slaves. In *CIL.*, VI. 2, some 4500 brief inscriptions are given, mainly from the rude funeral urns of slaves and poor freedmen of the first century of the empire. About one-third of these are from the *columbaria* of the Livii, Drusi, Marcelli, Statilii, and Volusii, aristocratic households where, presumably, service would be as exacting as anywhere, discipline as strict, and concern for profits from the birth of *vernae* as inconsiderable as anywhere. Furthermore, these inscriptions date from a time when slaves were plentiful and the dearth of captives generally assumed for a later day cannot be posited. Nevertheless, I believe that anyone who will studiously compare the record of offspring in this group of inscriptions with that in ordinary plebeian inscriptions will reach the conclusion that even in these households the slave doorkeepers and cooks and hairdressers and scullery-maids customarily married and had children. The volume is full of interesting instances: Livia's *sarcinatrix* married her *mensor* (VI. 3988), Octavia's *ornatrix* was the wife of her keeper of the plate (5539), Statilius's courier courted the spinning-maid of the household (6342). In the lists of husbands and wives one finds a chef (7458), a *vestiarius* (9963), a *vestifica* (5206), an *unctor* (6381), a slave-maid serving as secretary (*a manu,* 9540), the keeper of my lady's mirrors (7297), of her hand-bag (7368), of her wardrobe (4043), of her jewels (7296), and what not. Now, these inscriptions are all extremely brief. There are a great many like 4478, *Domitia Sex. l. Artemisia, Tertius, Viator.,* where the word *coniunx* or *contubernalis* is probably, though not necessarily, understood. Furthermore, the record of children is not as complete as it would be in inscriptions of the better classes. A slave-child is, of course, not always honored with a record of its brief existence. Moreover, slave families, not being recognized in formal law, were sometimes broken up, so that some of the names fail to appear with the rest of the family. Nevertheless, the proportion of marriages and of offspring recorded by these very inscriptions, brief and in-

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complete as they are, is remarkably large. In the thousand inscriptions of the *columbaria* of the Livii, Drusi, Marcelli, and the first eighty of the Volusii (to make the even 1000) I find,

151 inscriptions recording offspring.
99 additional inscriptions recording marriage.
152 additional inscriptions (like 4478 quoted above) probably recording marriage.

402

Now this is not, of course, as large a proportion as is found in the main body of normal inscriptions. For comparison I give the proportions of 14,000 of volume VI., parts 2 and 3, reduced to the ratio of 1000:

Per 1000	Total	
280	3923	inscriptions recording offspring.
184	2577	additional inscriptions recording marriage.
39	548	additional inscriptions probably recording marriage.
503		

Here, as we should expect, the proportion of children is larger, and the long list of inscriptions bearing names of a man and a woman whose relationship is not defined yields in favor of a record of *conjuges*. But, as has been said, the slave inscriptions are far briefer and less complete than the others.

To discover whether the lower proportion in the first list might be due to the brevity of the inscriptions, I compared it with the list of 460 inscriptions of greater length, edited in volume VI., part 2, 8639 ff., as being *ex familia Augusta*. These inscriptions are longer, to be sure, because the persons designated had reached some degree of prosperity and could afford a few feet of sod with a separate stone. But even these slaves and freedmen were generally required to furnish close and persistent attention to their service. I have again given the numbers in the proportion of 1000 for the sake of comparison.

Per 1000	Total	
290	133	inscriptions recording offspring.
220	101	additional inscriptions recording marriages.
78	36	additional inscriptions probably recording marriages.
588		

From this list, if we may draw any conclusions from such small numbers, it would appear that the imperial slaves and freedmen were more productive than the ordinary citizens of Rome. And I see no reason for doubting that the proportions in the households of the Livii, Drusi, etc., would be nearly as large if the inscriptions were

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full lapidary ones, instead of the short notices that were painted or cut upon the small space of an urn.

Finally, for the sake of getting a fuller record regarding the poorer classes, I read 3000 inscriptions of the miscellaneous *columbaria* that follow those of the aristocratic households. These are nos. 4881–7881 of volume VI., part 2. A very few of these inscriptions contain names of poor free-born citizens who associated with—in fact were probably related to—slaves and ex-slaves, but the proportion is so small that we may safely use this group for our present purpose. Three thousand inscriptions from miscellaneous *columbaria:*

Per 1000	Total	
154	462	inscriptions recording offspring.
111	332	additional inscriptions recording marriage.
73	220	additional inscriptions probably recording marriage.
338		

This group, consisting of the very briefest inscriptions, set up by the poorest of Rome's menial slaves, shows, as we might expect, the smallest birth and marriage rate. But when we compare it with that of the corresponding class engaged in the aristocratic and imperial households, the ratios fall only in proportion to the brevity and inadequacy of the record.

To sum up, then, it would seem that not only were the slaves of the *familia rustica* permitted and encouraged to marry, as Varro and Columella indicate, but—what the literary sources fail to tell—that slaves and freedmen in the *familia urbana* did not differ from country slaves in this respect. And, considering the poverty of those who raised these humble memorials, the brevity of the records, and the ease with which members of such families were separated, the ratio of offspring is strikingly large. We cannot be far from wrong if we infer that the slaves and freedmen[11] of the city were nearly as prolific as the free-born population.

But however numerous the offspring of the servile classes, unless the Romans had been liberal in the practice of manumission, these people would not have merged with the civil population. Now, literary and legal records present abundant evidence of an unusual liberality in this practice at Rome, and the facts need not be repeated after the full discussions of Wallon, Buckland, Friedländer, Dill,

[11] We cannot suppose that most of the children belong to the period subsequent to the liberation of the parents. Very many of the *liberti* recorded were emancipated in old age, and throughout the empire manumission of slaves under 30 years of age was discouraged (Buckland, *Roman Law of Slavery*, p. 542). In a large number of instances the form and contents of the inscriptions show that slave-fathers after emancipation paid the price for children and wife.

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Lemonnier, and Cicotti. If there were any doubt that the laws passed in the early empire for the partial restriction of manumission did not seriously check the practice, the statistics given at the beginning of the paper would allay it. When from eighty to ninety per cent. of the urban-born population proves to have been of servile extraction, we can only conclude that manumission was not seriously restricted. I may add that a count of all the slaves and freedmen in the *familiae* of the aristocratic households mentioned above showed that almost a half were *liberti*. It is difficult to believe that this proportion represents the usual practice, however, and, in fact, the figures must be used with caution. On the one hand, they may be too high, for many who served as slaves all their lives were manumitted only in old age, and it must also be recognized that slaves were less apt to be recorded than *liberti*. On the other hand, the figures may in some respects be too low, since there can be little doubt that the designation *liberti* was at times omitted on the simple urns, even though the subject had won his freedom. However, as far as the inscriptions furnish definite evidence, they tell the same tale as the writers of Rome, namely, that slaves were at all times emancipated in great numbers.

When we consider whence these slaves came and of what stock they actually were, we may derive some aid from an essay by Bang, *Die Herkunft der Römischen Sklaven*. Bang has collected all the inscriptions like *Damas, natione Syrus,* and *C. Ducenius C. lib. natus in Syria,* which reveal the provenance of slaves. Of course, the number of inscriptions giving such information is relatively small, a few hundred in all. It should also be noticed that when a slave gives his nationality he shows a certain pride in it, which, in some cases at least, implies that he is not a normal slave of the mart, born in servitude, but rather a man of free birth who may have come into the trade by capture, abduction, or some other special way. However, with this word of caution we may use Bang's statistics for what they are worth.

A very large proportion in his list (seven-eighths of those dating in our era) came from within the boundaries of the empire. From this we may possibly infer that war-captives were comparatively rare during the empire, and that, though abduction and kidnapping supplied some of the trade, the large bulk of the slaves were actually reared from slave-parents. Doubtless slaves were reared with a view to profit in Greece and the Orient, as well as in Italy, and I see no reason for supposing that the situation there differed much from that of our Southern States where—for obvious economic reasons—the birth-rate of slaves was higher between 1800 and 1860 than the

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birth-rate of their free descendants has been since then. An examination of the names in Bang's list with reference to the provenance of the bearer will do something toward giving a criterion for judging the source of Italian slaves not otherwise specified. In a very few cases a name appears which is not Greek or Latin but Semitic, Celtic, etc., according to the birthplace of the slave, as, for instance, Malchio, Zizas, Belatusa. Such names are rare and never cause any difficulty. Somewhat more numerous, and equally clear of interpretation, are the generic names that explicitly give the race of the bearer, like Syrus, Cappadox, Gallus, etc. In general, however, slaves have Greek or Latin names, and here difficulties arise, for it has by no means been certain whether or not these names had so distinctively servile a connotation that they might be applied indiscriminately to captives from the North and West, as well as to the slaves of Italy and the East. Nevertheless, there seems to be a fairly uniform practice which differentiated between Greek and Latin names during the empire. Slaves from Greece, from Syria, from Asia Minor, including the province of Asia, Phrygia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia—that is, from regions where Greek was the language of commerce, regularly bore Greek, rather than Latin, names. Slaves from the North—from Germany to Dacia—as a rule bore Latin names. Presumably their own barbaric names were difficult to pronounce and Greek ones seemed inappropriate. Slaves from Spain and Gaul bore Latin and Greek names in about equal numbers. But here we must apparently discriminate. These provinces were old and commerce had brought into them many Oriental slaves from the market. It may be that the Greek names were applied mostly to slaves of Eastern extraction. This I should judge to be the case at least with the following: Ephesia (Bang, p. 239), Corinthus, Hyginus, Phoebus (his father's name is Greek), Eros (a *Sevir Aug.*), and Philocyrius (p. 240, Hübner reads Philo, Cyprius). In general we may apply these criteria in trying in some measure to decide the provenance of slaves in Italy whose nativity is not specified: bearers of Greek names are in general from the East or descendants of Eastern slaves who have been in the West; bearers of Latin names are partly captives of the North and West, partly, as we have seen from our Roman lists, Easterners and descendants of Easterners who have received Latin names from their masters.

Therefore, when the urban inscriptions show that seventy per cent. of the city slaves and freedmen bear Greek names and that a large proportion of the children who have Latin names have parents of Greek names, this at once implies that the East was the source of

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most of them, and with that inference Bang's conclusions entirely agree. In his list of slaves that specify their origin as being outside of Italy (during the empire), by far the larger portion came from the Orient, especially from Syria and the provinces of Asia Minor, with some from Egypt and Africa (which for racial classification may be taken with the Orient). Some are from Spain and Gaul, but a considerable proportion of these came originally from the East. Very few slaves are recorded from the Alpine and Danube provinces, while Germans rarely appear, except among the imperial bodyguard. Bang remarks that Europeans were of greater service to the empire as soldiers than as servants. This is largely true, but, as Strack has commented,[12] the more robust European war-captives were apt to be chosen for the gruelling work in the mines and in industry, and consequently they have largely vanished from the records. Such slaves were probably also the least productive of the class; and this, in turn, helps to explain the strikingly Oriental aspect of the new population.

Up to this point we have dealt mainly with the inscriptions of the city. But they, of course, do not represent the state of affairs in the empire at large. Unfortunately, it is difficult to secure large enough groups of sepulchral inscriptions for other cities and districts to yield reliable average on the points just discussed. However, since the urban inscriptions have presented a general point of view regarding the prolificness of slaves and the significance of the Greek cognomen, it will suffice to record the proportion of servile and Oriental names found in some typical district outside of the city. The proportion of Greek names to Latin among the slaves and *liberti* of the city was, in the inscriptions I recorded, seventy per cent. versus thirty per cent. This is of course very high. In *CIL.*, volume XIV. (Latium outside of Rome), the index of cognomina gives 571 to 315, that is, about sixty-four per cent. to thirty-six per cent.; volume IX. (Calabria to Picenum), 810 to 714, *i.e.*, fifty-three to forty-seven per cent.; volume V. (Cisalpine Gaul), 701 to 831, *i.e.*, forty-six to fifty-four per cent. This, in fact, is the only part of Italy where the majority of slaves and freedmen recorded did not bear Greek names. As is to be expected, northern slaves, who generally received Latin names, were probably found in larger numbers here; but again it should not be forgotten that a great many of the Latin-named slaves were of Eastern extraction.

In order to get more specific evidence regarding the nature of the population in the West, free as well as servile, we may read the sepulchral inscriptions of some typical towns[13] and districts. I have

[12] *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXII. 9.

[13] In this list I have omitted imperial officials and soldiers, since they are not likely to be natives of the place.

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listed them in four groups: (1) slaves and freedmen bearing Latin names; (2) slaves and freedmen bearing Greek names; (3) free-born citizens with Latin cognomen; (4) free-born citizens with Greek cognomen. Under 3 and 4, I have, except when explicit evidence proved the contrary, credited the *tria nomina* as indication of free birth, but wish again to call attention to the caution contained in note 3. In cases of doubt the absence of the gentile name has been taken as an indication of servile station if the name given is Greek or Latin and not Barbarian.

	1	2	3	4	Sum
Marsi and Vestini, Italy	201	119	234	58	612
Beneventum, Italy	141	129	297	57	624
Milan and Patavium, North Italy	182	135	400	93	810
Narbo, Gaul	257	160	332	95	844
Gades, Corduba, Hispalis, Emerita } Spain	129	101	305	90	625
	910	644	1568	393	3515

When the indexes of *CIL.* are nearer completion such details will be more readily available and the tedious work of getting full statistics may be undertaken with the hope of reaching some degree of finality. However, the trend is evident in what we have given, and the figures are, I think, fairly representative of the whole. In these towns, as at Rome, the proportion of non-Latin folk is strikingly large. Slaves, freedmen, and citizens of Greek name make up more than half the population, despite the fact that in the nature of the case these are presumably the people least likely to be adequately represented in inscriptions. Furthermore, if the Latin names of freedmen in half the instances conceal persons of Oriental parentage, as they do in the city, the Easterner would be represented by classes 2 and 4, half of class 1, and a part of class 3. How strikingly un-Latin these places must have appeared to those who saw the great crowd of humble slaves, who were buried without ceremony or record in nameless trenches! Yet here are the Marsi, proverbially the hardiest native stock of the Italian mountains; Beneventum, one of Rome's old frontier colonies; Milan and Padua, that drew Latins and Romanized Celts from the richest agricultural districts of the Po valley; the old colony of Narbo, the home of Caesar's famous Tenth Legion—the city that Cicero called *specula populi Romani*; and four cities at the western end of the empire. If we may, as I think fair, infer for these towns what we found to be true at Rome, namely, that slaves were quite as prolific as the civil population, that they merged into the latter, and that Greek names betokened Oriental stock, it is evident that the whole empire

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was a melting-pot and that the Oriental was always and everywhere a very large part of the ore.

There are other questions that enter into the problem of change of race at Rome, for the solution of which it is even more difficult to obtain statistics. For instance, one asks, without hope of a sufficient answer, why the native stock did not better hold its own. Yet there are at hand not a few reasons. We know for instance that when Italy had been devastated by Hannibal and a large part of its population put to the sword, immense bodies of slaves were bought up in the East to fill the void; and that during the second century, when the plantation system with its slave service was coming into vogue, the natives were pushed out of the small farms and many disappeared to the provinces of the ever-expanding empire. Thus, during the thirty years before Tiberius Gracchus, the census statistics show no increase. During the first century B.C., the importation of captives and slaves continued, while the free-born citizens were being wasted in the social, Sullan, and civil wars. Augustus affirms that he had had half a million citizens under arms, one-eighth of Rome's citizens, and that the most vigorous part. During the early empire, twenty to thirty legions, drawn of course from the best free stock, spent their twenty years of vigor in garrison duty, while the slaves, exempt from such services, lived at home and increased in number. In other words, the native stock was supported by less than a normal birth-rate, whereas the stock of foreign extraction had not only a fairly normal birth-rate but a liberal quota of manumissions to its advantage. Various other factors, more difficult to estimate, enter into the problem of the gradual attrition of the native stock. It seems clear, for instance, that the old Indo-Germanic custom of "exposing" children never quite disappeared from Rome. Law early restrained the practice and in the empire it was not permitted to expose normal males, and at least the first female must be reared. It is impossible, however, to form any clear judgment from the literary sources as to the extent of this practice during the empire. I thought that a count of the offspring in a large number of inscriptions might throw light upon the question, and found that of the 5063 children noted in the 19,000 inscriptions read, 3155, or about 62.3 per cent., were males. Perhaps this reflects the operation of the law in question, and shows that the *expositio* of females was actually practised to some extent. But here too we must remember that the evidence is, by its very nature, of little worth. Boys naturally had a better chance than girls to gain some little distinction and were therefore more apt to leave a sepulchral record. At any rate, if *expositio* was practised, the inscriptions show little difference in

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this respect between the children of slaves and freedmen and the children of the ordinary city populace.[14]

But the existence of other forms of "race suicide", so freely gossipped about by writers of the empire, also enters into this question, and here the inscriptions quite fail us. The importance of this consideration must, nevertheless, be kept in mind. Doubtless, as Fustel de Coulanges (*La Cité Antique*) has remarked, it could have been of little importance in the society of the republic so long as the old orthodox faith in ancestral spirits survived, for the happiness of the *manes* depended upon the survival of the family, and this religious incentive probably played the same rôle in the propagation of the race as the Mosaic injunctions among the Hebrews, which so impressed Tacitus in a more degenerate day of Rome. But religious considerations and customs—which in this matter emanate from the fundamental instincts that continue the race—were questioned as all else was questioned before Augustus's day. Then the process of diminution began. The significance of this whole question lies in the fact that "race suicide" then, as now, curtailed the stock of the more sophisticated, that is, of the aristocracy and the rich, who were, to a large extent, the native stock. Juvenal, satirist though he is, may be giving a fact of some social importance when he writes that the poor bore all the burdens of family life, while the rich remained childless:

> jacet aurato vix ulla puerpera lecto;
> Tantum artes hujus, tantum medicamina possunt,
> Quae steriles facit.[15]

There may lie here—rare phenomenon—an historic parallel of some meaning. The race of the human animal survives by means of instincts that shaped themselves for that purpose long before rational control came into play. Before our day it has only been at Greece and Rome that these impulses have had to face the obstacle of sophistication. There at least the instinct was beaten, and the race went under. The legislation of Augustus and his successors, while aimed at preserving the native stock, was of the myopic kind so usual in social law-making, and, failing to reckon with the real nature of the problem involved, it utterly missed the mark. By combining epigraphical and literary references, a fairly full history of the noble families can be procured, and this reveals a startling inability of such families to perpetuate themselves. We know, for

[14] I have compared the respective ratios of the girls and boys of the Julii and the Claudii with those of the Aelii and the Aurelii (who would in general date about a century later) but found no appreciable difference in the percentage. A chronological test seems to be unattainable.

[15] VI. 594–596.

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instance, in Caesar's day of forty-five patricians, only one of whom is represented by posterity when Hadrian came to power.[16] The Aemilii, Fabii, Claudii, Manlii, Valerii, and all the rest, with the exception of the Cornelii, have disappeared. Augustus and Claudius raised twenty-five families to the patriciate, and all but six of them disappear before Nerva's reign. Of the families of nearly four hundred senators recorded in 65 A.D. under Nero, all trace of a half is lost by Nerva's day, a generation later. And the records are so full that these statistics may be assumed to represent with a fair degree of accuracy the disappearance of the male stock of the families in question. Of course members of the aristocracy were the chief sufferers from the tyranny of the first century, but this havoc was not all wrought by *delatores* and assassins. The voluntary choice of childlessness accounts largely for the unparalleled condition. This is as far as the records help upon this problem, which, despite the silence, is probably the most important phase of the whole question of the change of race. Be the causes what they may, the rapid decrease of the old aristocracy and the native stock was clearly concomitant with a twofold increase from below: by a more normal birth-rate of the poor, and the constant manumission of slaves.

This Orientalizing of Rome's populace has a more important bearing than is usually accorded it upon the larger question of why the spirit and acts of imperial Rome are totally different from those of the republic, if indeed racial characteristics are not wholly a myth. There is to-day a healthy activity in the study of the economic factors—unscientific finance, fiscal agriculture, inadequate support of industry and commerce, etc.—that contributed to Rome's decline. But what lay behind and constantly reacted upon all such causes of Rome's disintegration was, after all, to a considerable extent, the fact that the people who built Rome had given way to a different race. The lack of energy and enterprise, the failure of foresight and common sense, the weakening of moral and political stamina, all were concomitant with the gradual diminution of the stock which, during the earlier days, had displayed these qualities. It would be wholly unfair to pass judgment upon the native qualities of the Orientals without a further study, or to accept the self-complacent slurs of the Romans, who, ignoring certain imaginative and artistic qualities, chose only to see in them unprincipled and servile egoists. We may even admit that had the new races had time to amalgamate and attain a political consciousness, a more brilliant and versatile civilization might have come to birth. That,

[16] Stech, in *Klio*, Beiheft X.

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however, is not the question. It is apparent that at least the political and moral qualities which counted most in the building of the Italian federation, the army organization, the provincial administrative system of the republic, were the qualities most needed in holding the empire together. And however brilliant the endowment of the new citizens, these qualities they lacked. The Trimalchios of the empire were often shrewd and daring business men, but their first and obvious task apparently was to climb by the ladder of quick profits to a social position in which their children with Romanized names could comfortably proceed to forget their forebears. The possession of wealth did not, as in the republic, suggest certain duties toward the commonwealth. Narcissus and Pallas might be sagacious politicians, but they were not expected to be statesmen concerned with the continuity of the *mos majorum*. And when, on reading Tacitus, we are amazed at the new servility of Scipios and Messalas, we must recall that these scattered inheritors of the old aristocratic ideals had at their back only an alien rabble of ex-slaves, to whom they would have appealed in vain for a return to ancestral ideas of law and order. They had little choice between servility and suicide, and not a few chose the latter.

It would be illuminating by way of illustration of this change to study the spread of the mystery religions. Cumont seems to think that these cults won many converts among all classes in the West. Toutain, skeptical on this point, assigns not a little of the new religious activity to the rather formal influence of the court at Rome. Dobschütz, a more orthodox churchman, seems to see in the spread of these cults the pervasion of a new and deeper religious spirit, which, in some mystical way, was preparing the old world for Christianity. But is not the success of the cults in great measure an expression of the religious feelings of the new people themselves? And if it is, may it not be that Occidentals who are actually of Oriental extraction, men of more emotional nature, are simply finding in these cults the satisfaction that, after long deprivation, their temperaments naturally required? When a senator, dignified by the name of M. Aurelius Victor, is found among the votaries of Mithras in the later empire, it may well be that he is the great-grandson of some child kidnapped in Parthia and sold on the block at Rome. Toutain has proved, I think, that in the northern and western provinces the only Oriental cult that took root at all among the real natives was that of Magna Mater, and this goddess, whose cult was directed by the urban priestly board, had had the advantage of centuries of a rather accidental recognition by the Roman state. In the western provinces, the Syrian and Egyptian gods were wor-

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shipped chiefly by people who seem not to be native to the soil. The Mithraic worshippers in these provinces were, for the most part, soldiers recruited or formerly stationed in the East, and Orientals who, by way of commerce or the slave-market, had come to live in the West. From the centres where such people lived the cult spread but very slowly.

It would hardly be worth while to attempt any conclusion for the city of Rome, since, as we have seen, the whole stock there had so changed that fair comparisons would be well-nigh unattainable; but the Po valley, that is Cisalpine Gaul, which preserved its Occidental aspect better than any other part of Italy, might yield usable data. For this region nearly one hundred devotees of Oriental gods are recorded in the fifth volume of *CIL.*, and, as soldiers and Roman officers are not numerous there, the worshippers may be assumed to represent a normal average for the community. Among them I find only twelve who are actually recorded as slaves or freedmen, but upon examination of the names, more than four-fifths seem, after all, to belong to foreign stock. Nearly half have Greek names. Several are *seviri Augustales,* and, therefore, probably *liberti*; and names like Publicius, Verna, Veronius (at Verona), tell the same tale. Finally, there are several imperial gentile names—Claudius, Flavius, Ulpius, Aelius, etc.—which, when found among such people, suggest that the Roman nomenclature is a recent acquisition. There is a residue of only some twelve names the antecedents of which remain undefined. This seems to me to be a fairly typical situation, and not without significance. In short, the mystery cults permeated the city, Italy, and the western provinces only to such an extent as the city and Italy and the provinces were permeated by the stock that had created those religions.

At Rome, Magna Mater was introduced for political reasons during the Punic War, when the city was still Italian. The rites proved to be shocking to the unemotional westerner, who worshipped the staid patrician called Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and were locked in behind a wall. As the urban populace began to change, however, new rites clamored for admittance, for, as a senator in Nero's days says,[17] "Nationes in familiis habemus, quibus diversi ritus, externa sacra." And as the populace enforced their demands upon the emperor for *panem et circenses,* so they also secured recognition for their *externa sacra.* One after another of the emperors gained popularity with the rabble by erecting a shrine to some foreign Baal, or a statue to Isis in his chapel, in much the same way that our cities are lining their park drives with tributes to Garibaldi, Pulaski, and

[17] Tacitus, *Annales,* XIV. 44.

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who knows what -vitch. Finally, in the third and fourth centuries, when even the aristocracy at Rome was almost completely foreign, these Eastern cults, rather than those of old Rome, became the centres of "patrician" opposition to Christianity. In other words, the western invasion of the mystery cults is hardly a miraculous conversion of the even-tempered, practical-minded Indo-European to an orgiastic emotionalism, foreign to his nature. These religions came with their peoples, and in so far as they gained new converts, they attracted for the most part people of Oriental extraction who had temporarily fallen away from native ways in the western world. Christianity, which contained enough Oriental mysticism to appeal to the vast herd of Easterners in the West, and enough Hellenic sanity to captivate the rationalistic Westerner, found, even if one reckons only with social forces, the most congenial soil for growth in the conglomeration of Europeans, Asiatics, and Africans that filled the western Roman Empire in the second century.

This is but one illustration. But it is offered in the hope that a more thorough study of the race question may be made in conjunction with economic and political questions before any attempt is made finally to estimate the factors at work in the change of temper of imperial Rome.

TENNEY FRANK.

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A MISSING CHAPTER OF FRANCO-AMERICAN HISTORY[1]

If the question were asked, Who has been our greatest American diplomatist? the answer would undoubtedly be Benjamin Franklin. Measured by any standard he would be found deserving of the first place. True it is that at the very height of his usefulness in France there was a cabal formed in Congress to force his recall, which in certain periods of our national history would undoubtedly have proved successful. As it was, Franklin was allowed to remain, and the incalculable value of his services to his country has since been universally recognized. He won for the struggling colonies the aid that was needed to establish their independence; and, for this, next to Washington, Franklin deserves the gratitude of all Americans.

What is truly surprising is the estimate that was placed upon him in France for the service he rendered to France, to Europe, and to all humanity. It was simply astonishing what a flood of eulogies was poured out upon him. In some manner he came to be regarded in France as the creator of a new era in the history of the world. To read the whole anthology of praise—if anyone were disposed to collect all that was said of him—would lead to the conviction that Franklin was either a person of almost supernatural powers, or that he was a charlatan of the first magnitude who had succeeded in imposing upon the greatest minds among his contemporaries. Believing that he was neither, the problem is before us, how to account for the superlative laudation that was lavished upon him in France at the time of his death, in 1790, five years after he had returned to Philadelphia.

First of all, it is of importance to realize to what extent, and from what quarter, Franklin was made an object of encomium. In 1790 there were in France three distinct political groups: the Royalists, the Constitutionalists, and the Democrats who drew their inspiration from Rousseau. It was the Constitutionalists, without exception, who publicly mourned for Franklin. Witness the splendid oration of Mirabeau, pronounced before the National Assembly, beginning: "Franklin is dead. He has returned to the bosom of the

[1] A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington, December 30, 1915.

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divinity, the genius who liberated America and poured upon Europe torrents of light."[2]

The Assembly, which was then engaged in the act of giving to France a constitution inspired by the American example, voted to wear mourning for three days in honor of Franklin's memory, and through its president sent condolences to the President of the United States. The Marquis de Condorcet, before the Academy of Sciences, expressed the satisfaction with which that body saw "one of its members unite the glory of liberating two worlds, of enlightening America and giving to Europe the example of liberty".[3] The Abbé Fauchet, in the name of the municipality of Paris, pronounced a discourse in which he spoke of Franklin as an "instructor" to whom it was due that France should "eternalize its gratitude".[4] And Vicq d' Azyr, before the Academy of Medicine, introducing his discourse with the words, "A man is dead and two worlds are in mourning", eulogized the illustrious diplomatist as "a legislator for the nations".[5]

Such honors had never been anywhere accorded to a diplomatic representative of any country; and, in truth, it was not to Franklin as an American minister that these honors were offered. It was to him as the creator of constitutionalism in Europe; and, in fact, there was only one group of men who accorded them, the party of professed Constitutionalists. The Royalist and Democratic groups presented an attitude of positive coolness. The Royalist journal, *L'Ami du Roi,* referring to Mirabeau's discourse, politely observed, as became such a journal, "This eulogy was doubtless deserved, but in tracing it the orator raised his hero to such a height that he rendered it impossible for anyone to recognize in him the Franklin whom we knew."[6] The extreme Democratic journals were more openly critical in referring to the claims of Franklin.[7]

The reason for this indifference to Franklin's memory is made clear by the observations of Luchet.

> This republican philosopher [he says] has enlightened the protagonists of liberty. Before him the majority of publicists had reasoned like slaves overheard by their masters; or had employed their ingenuity, as Montesquieu did, to justify that which is, and gloss over our institutions

[2] Mirabeau, *Œuvres* (ed. Vermorel), II. 131.

[3] Condorcet, *Éloge de M. Franklin, Œuvres* (Paris, 1804), p. 163.

[4] Fauchet, *Éloge Civique de Benjamin Franklin* (Paris, 1790).

[5] *Revue Retrospective* (série II.), II. 375.

[6] *L'Ami du Roi,* 23 Juillet, 1790, even went so far as to ridicule Fauchet's eulogy.

[7] For example, *Révolutions de Paris,* nos. 54 and 55, where Sparta is favorably contrasted with America.

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with a deceptive coating. He alone, studying the rights of mankind, sweeping aside the dust and débris, that is to say, the merely external relations of weakness and strength, of wealth and poverty, of inequality and aristocracy of every kind, has discovered the foundations of society.[8]

These tributes to Franklin assume something more than is usually ascribed to him. He is here held up, in contrast with the merely speculative philosophers, like Rousseau, as an "organizer of liberty", as an "exponent of fundamental political principles"; in short, as the "discoverer of the foundations of society"!

This is certainly a different estimate of Franklin from that which prevailed at that time in America. It is true that he had formed a plan to unite the colonies, that he had signed the Declaration of Independence, and, but a short time before, in the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, that he had sought in a well-remembered speech to urge harmony among the dissentients, and had prevailed upon the delegates to unite upon the Constitution as it had been framed; still, the records of that body do not show that Franklin had especially impressed his own views upon the Convention. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Royalists did not recognize in these eulogies Franklin *as they knew him.*

Was it, then, a mere effusion of the Gallic temperament that was to be discerned in these laudations? If Franklin really deserved these encomiums, these eulogists must have seen him from a point of view peculiarly their own.[9]

And this they no doubt did. When Franklin arrived in France, on December 21, 1776, there were no signs of a constitutional movement. The States General had not met for 162 years; and there was no demand for their meeting until Lafayette, in 1787, having returned from America, in reply to the Count d'Artois's question, "What, do you ask for the States General?" had answered, "Yes, Monseigneur, and something better."[10] Yet all the great hierophants of political liberty, to whom the French Revolution has been so largely ascribed, had already practically exhausted their influence. Montesquieu, the soundest and most practical political thinker of his time, had been dead since 1755. Voltaire, Diderot, Mably, and Rousseau were still living; but their work of iconoclasm was complete, and they had produced no programme of construction. Of

[8] Luchet, *Les Contemporains de 1789 et 1790* (Paris, 1790).

[9] The society known as "Les Amis de la Constitution" also wore mourning in honor of Franklin.

[10] Lafayette, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1837), II. 117. Lafayette had before this already induced the States of Auvergne to make a declaration of their rights to the king. See Lavergne, *Les Assemblées Provinciales sous Louis XVI.*, p. 200 *et seq.*

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analysis and negation there had been much, but no solid ground had been laid out on which to build. Since 1762 the *Contrat Social* had powerfully appealed to the imagination of the French people; the more powerfully, perhaps, because it was in contradiction with all the facts. But, until the American Declaration of Independence had taken its speculations out of the realm of mere ideology and made some of them real by showing that there were in the world men who were prepared to shed their blood and imperil their lives in defense of it, it seemed like a mere romance.

Then Franklin came to plead the cause of the revolutionists. He came in humility, seeking for aid, and he received a ready response. Until he was officially recognized in his diplomatic quality, his mission was an appeal to the individual man. He was a noble emissary. "I was very young", wrote the Duke de Lévis, "when I saw the illustrious Franklin, but his countenance, so full of candor and nobility, and his fine white hair, will never be forgotten by me."[11] He appealed as no diplomatist had ever before appealed to the ordinary man. "You perceive liberty establish herself and flourish almost under your eyes", he said one day in the presence of the philosopher Condorcet. "I dare to predict that by and by you will be anxious to taste her blessings."[12]

It was not to everyone, or upon every occasion, that he could speak thus. But there were more intimate relations where he could speak even more freely, and expound his whole doctrine of constitutionalism. Only once in all his collected writings does Franklin refer to this relationship. In a letter to an old French friend and intimate associate, Monsieur Le Veillard, after his return to Philadelphia, he says, "The Lodge of the Nine Sisters have done me too much honor in proposing the prize you mention."[13]

What, then, is meant by the "Nine Sisters"?

The letter in which the proposal of a prize was communicated to Franklin by his French correspondent is not to be found in any collection; nor, so far as research has revealed, is there any other letter extant upon this subject. But collateral research has thrown much light upon the "Nine Sisters".

Arriving in Paris in December, 1776, while the American Declaration was the topic of the day, Franklin was at once the centre of public interest. More than any other diplomatic representative of whom we have knowledge he was an object of curiosity as well as respect in all grades of society, and appealed by the nature of his

11 Lévis, *Souvenirs et Portraits* (Paris, 1815), p. 51.
12 Cited by Bancroft, *History of the United States*, IX. 493.
13 *The Works of Franklin* (Bigelow ed.), IX. 363.

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mission and the qualities of his personality to the imagination of the people.

> His venerable aspect, his homely sayings, his republican simplicity of dress and manner, combined with the tact and politeness of his deportment, his anecdotes and his *bon mots* gained him among all classes admirers, disciples, and friends.
>
> No man in Paris [says Madame Vigée Lebrun] was more *à la mode,* more sought after, than Doctor Franklin. The crowd used to run after him in the streets and in the public resorts; hats, canes, snuff-boxes, everything was *à la Franklin.*[14]

Turgot's Latin eulogy of the man who "had snatched the lightning from the sky and the sceptre from the hands of the tyrant" was not a stronger commendation to intellectual France than the Doctor's personal charm to the best society. After the Declaration of Independence, which, in an ambient atmosphere of suavity and dignity, he seemed to personify, he was the best asset of the colonies in their quest for French friendship.

In his eulogy upon Franklin, pronounced before the Academy of Sciences in 1793, the Marquis de Condorcet describes the state of France at the time of Franklin's arrival in Paris.

> Men whom the reading of philosophic books had disposed to a secret love of liberty were impassioned for that of a foreign people, while awaiting the occasion when they could engage in recovering their own, and were seized with joy on that occasion to avow sentiments which prudence would have obliged them to guard in silence.[15]

But what of the "Nine Sisters"? If we may believe the Abbé Barreul, it was "the centre of a vast, concerted conspiracy between the philosophers, illuminati, and freemasons of all countries". He mentions by name thirty-two of the initiates of the "Nine Sisters" as particularly concerned in the work of the French Revolution.

The good Abbé certainly speaks with exaggeration when he characterizes this innocent secret fraternity as a "centre of a vast, concerted conspiracy", extending to all countries; but he is not in error when he informs us that a great number of its members played a conspicuous part in the French Revolution.

Amiable, in his history of this society, of which he has published the records,[16] tells us that, as early as 1780, Dr. Franklin was chosen the "Vénérable" of the "Nine Sisters", in which he continued until the end of his diplomatic mission in 1785. Even while he was still in Paris, in 1783, a brilliant public fête was given by this society in honor of the new republic, in which American independence was

[14] Madame Vigée Lebrun, *Souvenirs* (Paris, 1835), I. 251.
[15] Condorcet, *Éloge de M. Franklin.*
[16] *Une Loge Maçonnique d'avant 1789* (Paris, 1897).

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celebrated in prose and verse, and Franklin himself crowned with laurels.

It was during Franklin's term as presiding officer of the society that John Paul Jones was a guest of the "Nine Sisters", and one may judge of the intimacy of the fête given the intrepid sailor by the verses composed for the occasion by one of the members:

> Jones, dans les combats en ressource fertile,
> Agit envers ses ennemies
> Comme agit envers nous une coquette habile,
> On croit la prendre, et l'on est pris!

In speaking of Franklin's return to America, Amiable says:

> On quitting his second fatherland to behold it no more, he left to it the seed which was soon to germinate in the ancient soil of Gaul and produce the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen."

The form in which that seed was left is well described in the language of the same writer: "The movement of emancipation in North America was transmitted", he says, "into public acts having the character of fundamental compacts defining the principles of legislation and determining the bases of the organization of public powers." It is of this precisely that France then stood in need. "The American constitutions", Amiable concludes, "were for liberty that which a grammar is for a language, defining the parts of speech and constructing them according to the rules of syntax."

It is not credible that Franklin, as "Vénérable" of the "Nine Sisters", was engaged in any conspiracy, especially any secret plot against the king to whom he was accredited, or that he was in any respect disposed to encourage revolution against a government that had been so generous to his country. It is, however, certain that the society of the "Nine Sisters" was an esoteric school of political thought, in which Franklin, for every reason, was esteemed the master.

In reviewing the list of members we have additional ground for believing that, although some of them were finally far removed from the spirit of their "Vénérable", the doctrine expounded by him was sound, salutary, and ennobling. That it consisted largely in an examination of the foundations of government cannot be doubted. The "Nine Sisters" was the first school of constitutionalism that ever existed in Europe.

Of this statement we may be practically certain. The work was fairly under way as early as 1778. In 1783 the constitutions of the thirteen American states were publicly known in France, having been

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translated into French by one of the members of the "Nine Sisters", the Duke de la Rochefoucauld d'Anville, with the permission of Vergennes; who, however, delayed his answer from March 24, when the request was presented, to June 7, when it was granted. Even so, the count first demanded the privilege of inspecting the volume containing these modest charters of liberty.[17] Six hundred copies were printed, and one was presented to each of Franklin's diplomatic colleagues, accompanied by elegantly bound copies in quarto for their sovereigns. In reporting his action to the Congress, on December 25, 1783, Franklin said: "From all parts I have the satisfaction to hear, that our Constitutions in general are much admired."

But this was not the first acquaintance with these constitutions by the members of the "Nine Sisters". Many of them had been printed in French much earlier, some of them in a periodical called *Affaires des l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique,* in which Franklin is known to have been interested; and six of them had been surreptitiously printed in a separate volume at Paris as early as 1778.[18]

It has long been well known that Franklin, who was a printer, had a printing-press in his house at Passy, ostensibly for the printing of "trifles", or "Bagatelles", as he called them, and often "amused himself" with composing and printing. But it has only recently been brought to light by Livingston, that "he was continually buying type in considerable quantity", eight boxes at one time having come from London by way of Amsterdam in October, 1779, and there was much correspondence with Haarlem on the subject in 1780. In 1777 Franklin employed Courtney Melmoth, "a political writer", at a salary of 11,428 livres per annum; and in 1784 he is known to have employed a regular compositor in his house for at least five months.[19]

We have no detailed report of the proceedings and discussions in the intimate fellowship of the "Nine Sisters", but what an influence was exerted by that group of men! It is impossible to call the roll completely, but here are a few of the members' names.

Bailly, the astronomer, afterward mayor of Paris, and member of the States General. It was Bailly who presided over the Third Estate when, on June 20, 1789, excluded by the king's command from their proper meeting-place, they assembled in the famous

[17] *Constitutions of the Thirteen United States of America* (Paris, 1783). The octavo edition comprised 500 copies; the quarto edition, 100 copies. A later edition of American constitutions was brought out in two volumes in 1792.

[18] Livingston, *Franklin and his Press at Passy* (New York, 1914, published by the Grolier Club), p. 186.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

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tennis-court, organized their meeting, and with only one dissenting voice took an oath that they would not disperse until they had obtained a constitution for the French nation. It was he also, three days afterward, at the end of the royal *séance* of the States General, when the king had sent the bejewelled young courtier, Dreux Brézé, to command the Commons to disperse, who replied firmly, "Sir, the Assembly stands adjourned only by its own vote." It is not a mere flourish of rhetoric when Belloc writes: "The fall of those hundreds of hands [that voted down the motion to adjourn] marks the origin of modern Europe, its vast construction, its still imperilled experiment."[20] It was Bailly who, with Lafayette, appealed in vain to the soldiers to respect the person of the king, on his way to worship on Easter Sunday of 1791; and who again endeavored to protect the crowd in the so-called "Massacre" of the Champs de Mars. It is not surprising that such a moderate spirit made Bailly one of the first victims of the Revolutionary Tribunal. When this friend of Franklin was led to the guillotine, his clothing wet through with a cold rain, one of the executioners observed, "You tremble, Bailly"; "Yes", was the reply, "but it is only with the cold."

Bonneville, the translator of the works of Thomas Paine, whom Brissot de Warville describes as "a true philosopher, a true friend of the people, a true friend of liberty, who never transcended the necessary bounds".[21] It was Bonneville who, in 1791, pressed for the right of petition and for universal suffrage, in the meantime urging the adoption of the constitution, which he and his associates "awaited with impatience".

Brissot de Warville, who, owing to his absence in England during the greater part of Franklin's residence in France after Brissot became a member of the "Nine Sisters", saw little of the "Vénérable" but nevertheless was an ardent admirer.[22]

> Indignant at the despotism under which France was groaning, in 1788, [he says] I made a journey in the United States, in order to ascertain the means with which to accomplish a similar revolution; or, if it was necessary to renounce the hope of it, to settle my family in America.[23]

It was during this journey, that the Federal Constitution was under discussion. Its fate was still hanging in the balance. Having learned of the meeting of the States General, believing the Constitution of the United States to be a "perfect model",[24] and feeling the

[20] Belloc, *High Lights on the French Revolution* (New York, 1915), pp. 44, 48.
[21] Brissot de Warville, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1911), I. 135.
[22] He records his meeting with Franklin at the house of Marat. *Ibid.*, I. 142.
[23] *Ibid.*, II. 275.
[24] Ellery, *Brissot de Warville* (Boston, 1915), p. 125.

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necessity of a new government for France, he hastened to return. As an authority on American affairs, of which he had written much, "his opinions were listened to with respect". He was active in urging the American rather than the English example upon France. "A declaration of rights", he contended, "is a chapter as necessary for a constitution as a foundation for a house. The constitution may change, the declaration of rights ought never to change."[25] After leading in the defense of France as a Minister of State during the ascendency of the Girondists, or "Brissotins", as they were sometimes called, Brissot perished with that group on October 31, 1793.

The Marquis de Condorcet, the philosopher of the Revolution, author of the *Influence of the American Revolution upon Europe,*[26] and many other writings relating to America, all of them surcharged with his own philosophic speculations, but full of ardent enthusiasm for the progress of the human race. A fearless constitutionalist, and an active participant in the constitutional movement, he, too, like Brissot, perished in the fall of the Girondists.

Danton, "the giant of the Revolution", the man of dramatic action; too virile, perhaps; the most thoroughly French of all the great leaders; an organizer, an original thinker, and a jurist; he also was of the company. After futile efforts to reconcile himself to the party of moderation, although he declared "a nation may *save* itself, but must not *avenge* itself", yet hating the bloodthirstiness of Robespierre and St. Just, that hatred turned against himself and brought him to the scaffold.

Camille Desmoulins, the journalist *par excellence* of the Revolution, a worshipper of the ancient classics, and destined to be *l'enfant terrible* of the constitutionalists, drawing his inspiration from the pure democracies of Greece, and believing that the American states were a revival of them. He it was who incited the populace to storm the Bastille, the keys of which were sent by Lafayette to General Washington. Finally condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal, he was executed at the same time with Danton.

Hilliard d'Auberteuil, whose works on America, which began to be published in 1782 under the influence of Franklin and were continued with the counsel of Jefferson, attracted wide attention to the institutions of America.[27]

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

[26] Condorcet, *L'Influence de la Révolution d'Amérique sur l'Europe* (Paris, 1786).

[27] Hilliard's most important work was entitled *Essais Historiques et Politiques sur les Anglo-Américains et sur la Révolution de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1782). For his relations with Jefferson, see *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington ed.), II. 103.

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Pétion, called the "virtuous Pétion", a member of the National Assembly, who, with Barnave and Latour-Maubourg, brought Louis XVI. back to Versailles after his flight with the queen to Varennes, and successor to Bailly as mayor of Paris. It was Pétion who, with Barnave, Lafayette, and Duport, the friend of Jefferson, advocated the adoption of the jury system for both civil and criminal cases; and who pleaded in the Constituent Assembly for the freedom of the press in imitation of the action of America.[28] Condemned to death with the Girondists, he was saved from execution by flight and concealment.

Rabaut Saint-Étienne, member of the Constituent Assembly, of which he became the historian,[29] a conservative converted to republicanism by the perfidy of the king, of whom he said from the tribune of the Constituent, "*This* king has delivered us from all kings."

Sieyès, a cold, logical personality, author of the celebrated pamphlet, "*Qu'est ce que le Tiers État?*" in which he made the famous reply, "It has been nothing; it aspires to be something; it is, in truth, *everything*." It was he who cried out amidst the passionate ebullitions of the Assembly, "You wish to be free, but you do not know how to be just." Carried away with his own fine-spun theories, from an ardent constitutionalist Sieyès degenerated into a professional fabricator of paper systems, surviving the destruction of all his own work, after serving as the tool of Bonaparte.

But it is needless to extend the catalogue further. It may be said with confidence that it was the initiates of the "Nine Sisters", together with the officers who had returned from service in America —of whom Lafayette was the chief—and the flood of writers who were inspired by the American example, who gave both shape and substance to the early period of the French Revolution.[30]

[28] Arguing for the freedom of the press, Pétion said: "Did you not see, when the new federal system of the United States was under hot discussion, a strong party pronounce itself fiercely against the Confederation, speak loudly for the disunion of the states, publish the most vehement pamphlets and scatter their views broadcast in all the gazettes? . . . The people read everything, heard everything, examined everything. No troubles followed. . . . Such will ever be the ascendency of reason over a free people." Pétion, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1793), II. 365.

[29] See his *Précis Historique de la Révolution* (Paris, 1793). Rabaut was a personal friend of Jefferson, and a frequenter of his house.

[30] Other writings regarding America published just before the French Revolution were: Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages* (Amsterdam and Paris, 1778); Bourgeois, *Voyages Intéressants* (Paris, 1788); Brissot et Glavière, *France et les États-Unis* (Paris, 1787); Quesnay de Beaurepaire, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1788); Crèvecœur, *Lettres d'un Cultivateur Américain* (Paris, 1784); Mazzei, *Recherches Historiques et Politiques sur les États-Unis* (Paris, 1788); Mandrillon, *Le Voyageur Américain* (Amsterdam, 1782); the same, *Le Spectateur Américain* (Paris, 1784); Abbé Robin, *Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1782); Soulés, *Histoire des Troubles de l'Angleterre* (Paris, 1787).

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Even if the American colonies had never existed, there would, no doubt, have been a general revolt against absolute royal authority in France; but it would certainly never have occurred as it did, and it would not have been a constitutional movement in the sense it was. The American influence ended precisely where the absolutism of the Revolutionary government began. With the rising and domination of the populace of Paris it met with stubborn contradiction.[31] The name "Constitution" was retained, but it had lost its true meaning, and had become a designation for any artificial frame of government, regardless of its qualities.

The two chief characteristics of the American constitutions—limitation of the powers of legislation and the final authority of the judiciary in declaring the law[32]—were wholly wanting in the six French constitutions that followed in swift succession during the Revolution, and made the nation "through many decades the plaything of every current that swept the political sea". The American idea that it is the purpose of a constitution to guarantee individual rights and liberties against the encroachments even of popular government, was abandoned. In France it had been accepted as a restraint upon the acts and power of the sovereign, so long as the sovereign was a king; but when the sovereign was the people, restraints were thought to be quite unnecessary. Government, therefore, remained as absolute as before; and it soon became evident that the Revolution had produced merely a change of masters.

DAVID JAYNE HILL.

[31] On the difference between the principles of the American and the French Revolutions, see the present writer's *The People's Government*, pp. 106, 114, 235, and 242.

[32] In the French Constitution of 1791, the Declaration of Rights is printed as a *preliminary* to the constitution proper. Violations of its specifications were not subject to judicial control, and the prejudice against judges left the legislature omnipotent. There is in France a vigorous contemporary movement toward the American system. See the article by James W. Garner, in the *American Political Science Review*, vol. IX., no. 4, particularly pp. 658, 665.

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WESTERN SHIP-BUILDING

SHIP-BUILDING was the first mechanical industry to which American colonists along the Atlantic paid attention to any profitable degree, Rhode Island ranking at or near the top as the leading community interested in this industry. The phenomenon was reproduced in the trans-Allegheny country; on the tributaries of the Mississippi River, particularly the Ohio, ship-building became the first mechanical industry of importance, and Rhode Islanders were leading promoters of it.

A study of the first decade of the nineteenth century from the angle of ship-building gives us new impressions concerning a number of matters of importance, including western surplus, ownership of the Mississippi, relation of eastern and western merchants, creation of ports of entry and departure on western waters, rise of corporate interests, co-operative banking between eastern and western towns, experiments in river navigation, and the embargoes of 1802 and 1807.

Our knowledge of western trade before 1800, import and export, has been limited to the generalizations of travellers and local historians; "long lines of wagons" or "great fleets of boats" are representative statements concerning early travel across the mountains and on the western rivers; we know certain specific cargoes and freight rates, but as to the amount of western traffic for any definite period, or the rate of increase year by year, we are practically without information. As early as the first years of the Revolution the thriving centres of population in the Ohio Basin were sending heavily loaded barges to the South and receiving something in return, especially powder and lead.[1]

Louisville was made a port of entry for the district of Kentucky in 1789 when the first districts were established by Congress; for ten years this was the only port outside Atlantic waters. The decade which succeeded was one of great growth in the West. Three facts explain this: the relinquishment of the American posts formerly held by Great Britain on the Great Lakes, the treaty of Greenville,

[1] In the three autumn months of 1800 twenty-one boats passed Fort Massac, Ill., ascending the Ohio, carrying 36,400 weight of lead; the remaining cargo was insignificant. The reports of the collector for the port of Fort Massac, quoted in this paper, are found in the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, July 12 and November 21, 1800, and in the Pittsburgh *Tree of Liberty*, April 11, 1801, and the *Gazette*, April 13, 1801.

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and Pinckney's treaty of San Lorenzo granting free navigation of the Mississippi and the right of deposit at New Orleans. Accordingly, in 1799, the following western towns, in addition to Louisville, were made ports of entry: Erie, Sandusky, Detroit, Mackinaw Island, Columbia (Cincinnati), Fort Massac, and Palmyra. Four were to take care of the Great Lake trade and four the trade of the Ohio and Tennessee rivers; Columbia (later Cincinnati) served the entire upper Ohio, and Palmyra the Cumberland River; but only two years later the port of Palmyra was abolished and Fort Massac on the Ohio was made to serve the Tennessee country, illustrating, thus early, the northward outlook of that state as brought out during the Civil War. In 1802 the upper Ohio Valley was divided, Marietta being made a port to serve the Pittsburgh-Portsmouth section of the valley. In 1807 all the western districts were amalgamated into one, and several new ports created.[2]

Such, then, was the situation at the beginning of the ship-building era, so far as legalizing the export trade of the country was concerned. A way had been opened and legal ports of entry and departure were conveniently located. The making the most of the opportunity was now a matter of individual initiative, the solving of the problems of navigation and the securing proper articles for export. And it is interesting to note the readiness of the people of the Ohio Valley to rise to the occasion and attempt by the sheer weight of their enthusiasm and restless opportunism to overcome the very great difficulties that lay in the way. The matter of ship-building is of minor importance; the definite proof it gives us of the abundance of surplus available at this early day, and the economic readjustments necessary, are of considerable importance. Joined with the problem of exporting a surplus, was the problem of transmitting to the growing towns and entrepôts of the mid-Mississippi Valley the commerce of the East which could reach that destination via New Orleans only at great difficulty and expense; and, also, the problem of laying down in Atlantic ports of both America and

[2] The creation of the inland ports of entry as indexes of agricultural development proves a useful topic of study; as, for instance, the relation of the rice and cotton culture to the opening of the Southern ports of Mobile, Elizabeth, Bayou St. John, the Florida ports, etc. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, III. 35, 120, 302, 347, 408, 431, 684. The present writer's search for the records of these ports of entry in the West has failed except in so far as they are printed in local papers. The receipts of collectors are given by years in *Receipts and Expenditures of the U. S.* These throw light on economic conditions of the time in all our states, as, for instance, the decline of the fur-trade at Michilimackinac at a much earlier date than is supposed, the change of port of entry in the Wheeling district, etc. Fresh light on effects of foreign and home wars, panics, internal improvements, progress of land sales, etc., may be found in these reports.

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Europe the produce of the western country without reshipment and delay at New Orleans. From 1790 onward western merchants were buying greater quantities each year as population increased; a superficial review of the advertising columns of representative western papers of the period proves most clearly the remarkable rapidity of the widening of people's needs and the efforts made to supply the demand. The eastern houses allowed from six to twelve months' time for payment; danger of loss of and injury to goods was great; communication by the rough Allegheny roads was slow; money was scarce; values fluctuated annoyingly. That men should propose amid all these difficulties to double labor and danger by re-exporting eastern goods down the almost uncharted course of the Ohio and the Mississippi to Nashville and Natchez is an exceedingly interesting commentary upon their fearless initiative; yet in 1800, before the first ship had descended the Ohio, there passed Fort Massac $32,550 worth of dry-goods and 24,500 weight of dry-goods in the three months of September, October, and November.[3] These goods must have crossed the mountains during the summer and awaited the fall flood-tides before proceeding.

The records of the same port give us, in accurate terms, the amount of surplus of western fields and factories then seeking a market. In the three months, March, April, and May, 1800, there passed Fort Massac cargoes for the Southland to the value of £28,-581, Pennsylvania currency; among the items listed were 22,714 barrels of flour, 1017 barrels of whiskey, 12,500 pounds of pork, 18,710 pounds of bacon, 75,814 pounds of cordage, 3650 yards of country linen, 700 bottles, 700 barrels of potatoes. The records show an astounding trade carried on by 515 flatboats and barges that passed Fort Massac in the last nine months of 1800.

The above facts, taken in conjunction, explain the dawn of the ship-building era; markets both for eastern goods and for an abundant surplus lay to the South along the great waterways; and beyond their shores lay the Indies and Europe.

The Ohio Valley had both the men to construct ocean-going craft and the materials for their construction; along the Muskingum and Monongahela towered large forests of black walnut, a wood so lasting that farmers, plowing deep, to this day encounter roots of black walnut trees felled a century ago. Timbers of this wood could be had at great length; they had nearly the strength of white oak and the durability of the live oak of the South but without its weight. Vessels with frames of this timber planked with seasoned oak would have, it was believed, preference over ships of any other

[3] See note 1.

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material in any port where there were competent judges. The necessary iron for ships at first had to be obtained from the East, as it was a year or two before the bar-iron works near Pittsburgh were, to quote their proprietor, sufficiently "upheld by the hand of the Almighty" to operate with regularity. Cordage, as we have seen by our export list, was being made in greater quantities than even the large local demand required; numerous rope-walks existed at Pittsburgh, Marietta, and Cincinnati, being supplied with hemp from adjacent territory where it had been found growing wild by the first comers.

During the year 1800 the first two ships built on western waters were placed upon the stocks, the brig *St. Clair* of 110 tons being built at Marietta, Ohio, and the ship *Monongahela Farmer* of 250 tons being built at Elizabeth, Pennsylvania. In each case an association of three local merchants financed the building of these craft. Griffin Greene, who had worked in an anchor shop in Rhode Island beside his cousin, Gen. Nathaniel Greene, was one of the Marietta merchants who owned, in partnership, the *St. Clair,* and in odd hours he fashioned its anchor. John Walker, builder and master of the *Monongahela Farmer,* had come as a boy with his father from Delaware to the banks of the Monongahela in 1785. The date of the sailing of these first ships, misquoted in the local accounts, is established by announcements of their arrival in port by Cincinnati and Pittsburgh papers respectively. The *St. Clair* reached Cincinnati April 27, 1801, and the *Monongahela Farmer* passed Pittsburgh May 13 of the same year.

The sight of a completely ocean-rigged vessel at Cincinnati aroused the enthusiasm of the populace to as high a pitch as did the coming of the first steamboat *Orleans* exactly ten years later. "She is bound for some of the West Indie islands", wrote an eye-witness of the arrival of the *St. Clair.* "On her arrival the banks were crowded with people, all eager to view this pleasing presage of the future greatness of our infant country. This is the first vessel which has descended the Ohio equipped for sea."[4] The captain of the *St. Clair* was none other than the staunch Rhode Islander Commodore Abraham Whipple, who was an active leader in the party which destroyed the *Gaspee* in 1772, and who served in the navy during the Revolution with honor. Col. Jonathan Devol, also of Marietta and Rhode Island, while he was constructing the sister-ship of the *St. Clair* at Marietta, the *Muskingum,* was moved to poetry at the thought of the ancient commodore's return to his

[4] Extract from the *Western Spy* quoted in Cist, *Cincinnati in 1841,* p. 181.

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native element as conqueror of the inland waters. The faded manuscript lies before me.

"He hath Oped the way to Commerce",

sang this boat-builder beside the Muskingum, of his fellow-Rhode Islander. As the ship emerges from the mouth of the Mississippi, Neptune commands:

> Sirens attend with Flute and Lyre
> and Bring your Conks my Trittons
> in chorus Blow to the Aged Sire
> in welcome to my Dominions.[5]

Typical Yankee, this, fulfilling to the letter Emerson's dictum—calling the Muse in piquant English with one hand and building with the other what is said to have been the first ship that crossed the Atlantic from the Mississippi Valley!

Both the *St. Clair* and the *Monongahela Farmer* carried cargoes of local produce, mostly flour; the latter had 750 barrels on board. This was reshipped or sold at New Orleans; the *St. Clair* went to Havana and thence to Philadelphia, from which point her noble captain footed it home across the mountains. A Hildreth manuscript states that $20.00 a barrel duty was charged Whipple for his flour at Havana and that he received $40.00 a barrel for it.

In rapid succession the shipyards of the Ohio and its tributaries launched the successors of these ships that "Oped the way to Commerce"; the appended list is in no wise complete or correct, as names were changed, tonnages variously estimated, and the times of launching confused.[6] In point of tonnage built, the known number probably does not include more than seventy-five per cent. of the total output from 1800 to 1808, but it suffices to show the awakening

[5] Hildreth Papers, Marietta College, IV. 151.

[6] Records of one kind or another are found of the following ships and their tonnage: *Muskingum*, 230, *Eliza Greene*, 124, *Dominic*, 100, *Indiana*, 75, *Marietta*, 150, *Mary Avery*, 150, *Whitney*, 75, *McGrath*, *Orlando*, 150, *Galett*, 185, *Temperance*, 230, *Ohio*, 150, *Nonpareil*, 70, *Perseverance*, 160, *Rufus King*, 400, *John Atkinson*, 320, *Tuscarora*, 400, *Sophia Greene*, 100, *Francis*, 350, *Robert Hall*, 300, *Rufus Putnam*, *Colatta*, 140 (all built at Marietta, Ohio); *Amity*, 100, *Dean*, 170, *Minerva*, 150, *Go-By*, 60 (named in derision of the Spanish embargo), *Dorcas and Sally*, 50, *Pittsburgh*, 270, *General Butler*, *Western Trader*, 400, *Betsey*, *Kentucky*, *General Scott*, *Robert Hale*, 280, *Penrose*, *Louisiana*, 300, *Conquest*, 126, *Allegheny*, 150, *Ann Jane*, *Maysville*, *Belville*, *Catharine*, *Nanina*, 150, *Ceres*, *Jane*, *Black Walnut*, 150, *Betsey O'Hara*, 100, *Mildred*, 150, *Beebe*, 120. Marietta seems to have been the chief ship-building port in the West. A manuscript in the hand of James Whitney, collector of that port, and builder of the *Marietta*, *Temperance*, *Rufus King*, *Robert Hall*, etc., shows that over 25 ships were built in yards near the mouth of the Muskingum. Hildreth Papers, I. 55.

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in the period. These ships were not inferior in tonnage to those they spoke at New Orleans or on the seas. The average tonnage of those listed is somewhat over 150 tons; the average tonnage of American ships leaving New Orleans in 1802 was 135 tons; of Spanish ships, 93 tons.[7] Thus the Ohio shipyards were building larger ships than the average in the New Orleans trade; they average larger than the average tonnage of the steamboats built by Great Britain and dependencies in 1834.[8] It is probable that most of these ships entered the West India trade; many are said to have gone further afield, to England and Spain, but incontrovertible proof of this is wanting in most cases. Perhaps the first of these was the *Dean* or *Duane* of Pittsburgh, which left that port January 16, 1803, arrived at Liverpool early in the following July. The Liverpool *Saturday's Advertiser* of July 9, 1803, speaks of her as "the first vessel which ever came to Europe from the western waters of the U. S."[9]

Fortunately the full sailing records for two ships of this period have been preserved; these are the records of the *Ohio* which was built at Marietta in 1803–1804 and which sailed in March, 1804, for New Orleans and Philadelphia, and the records of the *Louisiana,* which was launched at Pittsburgh in March, 1804, and reached Trieste in April, 1805.[10] The certificates, manifests, reports, and affidavits necessary to the sailing of the *Ohio* bring out clearly the strained conditions that existed in the shipping world in the Napoleonic period and the suspicion that existed of every ship until officially dispelled. First in the list comes the certificate of the builder of the vessel; he swore to date and place of building, tonnage, and the full names of the owners. Another certificate of ownership was also sworn to by the owners themselves, who were compelled to state "that there is no subject nor citizen of any foreign Prince or State directly or indirectly by way of Trust confidence or otherwise interested therein or in the profits or issues thereof". The master, Peter Rose, made affidavit that he was an American-born citizen. The certificate of registry is from the collector of customs for the district of Marietta, Griffin Greene, and is signed by James Whitney, surveyor of the port of Marietta. This document describes the *Ohio* as a brigantine built, and as having main and quarter decks, two masts, a square stern and a round tuck, no

[7] Pittsburgh *Gazette,* December 3, 1803.

[8] McCullough's *Gazetteer,* 1834.

[9] *Western Spy,* October 5, 1803.

[10] Hildreth Papers, II. 17–22, for the *Ohio.* The records of the *Louisiana* are in the possession of Miss Mary Nye, Marietta, Ohio.

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galley and no head; its length was seventy-three feet and four inches; breadth, twenty-three feet and seven inches; depth, eleven feet and seven inches; tonnage, $173\frac{14}{95}$. The surveyor's report contained an itemized list of the cargo and destination of each item: twenty-nine coils of cordage, one 8½ inch cable, and two coils of white rope for George Pollack of New Orleans; 567 bushels of stone coal, 1768 pipe staves, and 2012 hogshead staves for Peter Rose of New York. The affidavit of the master as to further cargo reads: "if I take on board said Brigantine any more cargo in the District of Marietta [which extended to the mouth of the Scioto River] that I will do everything in my Power to forward Manifest or Manifests to the Collector of the Port of Marietta. So Help me God." The fees paid by the *Ohio* amounted to over $14.00, as follows: bond 25 cents; admeasurement $1.50; register $2.00; tonnage $10.38½; manifest 20 cents; permit (torn). These statistics illustrate the care which builders, owners, masters, collectors, and surveyors had to take in sending one ship down the Ohio in 1804; they throw into bolder relief than usual the irregular proceedings, only two years later, of Burr and Blennerhassett, who sought to ignore all the formalities of legal shipment. Blennerhassett was one of the proprietors of the ship *Dominic* (named from his own son) and must have known that failure to respect the shipping laws would be, in the eyes of the officials, *prima facie* evidence of illegal purpose.

The papers of the *Louisiana,* 300 tons, launched at Pittsburgh March 30, 1804, are of added interest. The ship sailed in ballast to take a cargo at the mouth of the Cumberland; she was registered at the port of Marietta and was known as the *Louisiana of Marietta* in the British Isles, in the Mediterranean, and in the Adriatic. Her owner, Mr. E. W. Tupper of Marietta, preserved her papers in part. Several of these are sworn "protests" before notaries public, which show the method by which masters and crews escaped being held liable for damage to ship and cargo from causes beyond their control. Taking her cotton at the Cumberland, the *Louisiana* grounded on a bar six miles below Fort Massac. The "protest" in this case was sworn to before Captain Daniel Bissell, commanding at the fort; in it Master Minor and crew "do solemnly protest against the said Bar in the River Ohio and against every and each Damage or Detriment which may . . happen in consequence". A second paper shows that $3.00 anchorage fee was paid to the *trésorier de la ville* at New Orleans, June 27. Leaving New Orleans July 23, the ship did not get into the Atlantic until August 5. Here she was becalmed and her inland crew of three men suffered such illness that they were

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unable to take proper advantage of winds when they arose. Master Minor finally got into the Gulf Stream and ran up the coast to Norfolk, Virginia. Here he shifted his crew and protested right and left before a notary blaming "the Calms and Weather, the sickness of the Crew and all other Events and occurrences aforesaid for all the Losses, Costs, Charges, Damages and Expenses", etc. This document shows that the cargo, in addition to cotton, consisted of staves and skins. Reaching Liverpool at an unknown date the *Louisiana* took on a cargo of merchandise for Trieste. At Messina, Sicily, a stop was made to protest, not against Scylla and Charybdis, as would be supposed, but against "repeated Gales and bad weather". Here the cargo was "surveyed" and found to be partially damaged through the laboring of the vessel—not because of "neglect or inattention of the said Master or Crew". The next document is a "Steavadores Certificate", dated at Trieste, in which Francesco Donatini on April 24 in "The Year of Human Salvation 1805" gives legal permission to the master of the *Louisiana of Marietta* to proceed to Liverpool with a cargo of oil, wood, boxwood, apples, juniper berries, and "other things". For pilotage into Liverpool Master Minor paid pilot-boat no. 4 £7 10*s.*; the receipt states that the draught of the *Louisiana* was ten feet. The "Light Bill" at this port was £8 9*s.*; the receipt shows the tonnage of the ship to have been 169—a considerable shrinkage from the 300 tons as given by the Pittsburgh *Gazette* at her launching! The ship sailed from Liverpool August 10 for Philadelphia with a cargo of 4124 bushels of white salt consigned to Messrs. Bickham and Reece valued at £181 0*s.* 2*d.*

The difficulties and discouragements of the western merchants who set this respectable inland fleet afloat in the space of seven years were partly foreseen and partly not; they include technicalities of ship-building, dangers of navigation, diplomatic troubles over the right of free navigation and deposit at New Orleans, and lack of proper credit and other commercial facilities.

These Rhode Island and Delaware ship-builders were of the maritime school and built the kind of craft that would sail the ocean. Westerners looked at the building of round-bottomed gun-boats at Pittsburgh as early as 1799 with ominous curiosity; they knew something about the winding, continually shifting, rock- and snag-infested channels of the Ohio and Mississippi; they knew that shippers by flatboat and barge were very greatly relieved to learn of the safe arrival of their goods at the proper destination; and the craft by which they were shipped drew only a few inches of water. It was

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sure that ships drawing twelve feet and more could sail only at flood-tide and almost equally sure that great danger attended their progress in the most propitious season. We have seen that the *Louisiana* of 169 tons drew ten feet of water and that the *Ohio* of 173 tons had a hold nearly twelve feet in depth; what draught those of 400 tons may have had we cannot say, but one of the first to sail (of 270 tons) carried 1700 barrels of flour. Just as coal is now collected in mountainous quantities against the day of sailing, so a century ago cargoes had to be collected and loaded for the long-looked-for "rise"; this limited the character of cargoes to those of less perishable nature; "Monongahela Flour" could never have made its reputation in the South through the agency of ships cut on the lines of the *St. Clair* and *Monongahela Farmer*. Their "model" hulls, however, outlasted the ship-building decade and the steamboat *Orleans* of 1811 was of a similar type. Eliphalet Beebe, a ship-builder of Pittsburgh, as early as 1803, divined the great need of inland navigation, namely, a kind of craft that would sail on the water instead of in it; his scheme was to make ships draw less water by crooking the keel.[11] Finally, the entire maritime idea of keel and hold was abandoned on western waters, engines were raised up on deck, and between 1820 and 1840 the West built a steamboat tonnage that exceeded that of the entire British Empire. In passing, it is worthy also to note that the side paddle-wheel idea dominated in the West to the detriment of successful navigation until tradition was again thrown to the winds and stern-wheel control put the power where it was needed. A towboat to-day in descending western rivers largely controls its barges by reversing the paddle-wheel. This art of navigating a winding channel by reversing the motion of the engine was very cleverly secured by the undaunted pilots of the ship-building era by sending their ships down stream backwards with anchors dragging from the prows.[12]

The western ship-building merchants saw profits from their ventures in triplicate and quadruplicate. Their stocks of goods from the East were purchased on credit; they sold these to farmers and manufacturers at a profit, taking payment in produce and manufactured products; these formed the cargoes for their ships and were sold at length in Southern or Atlantic ports; if sold in Southern markets local produce was taken in payment and sold in Atlantic

11 Pittsburgh *Gazette*, May 20, 1803.

12 Hildreth Papers, II. 34½. On the Mississippi, long sweeps were mounted on platforms raised three above the decks and by their use ships were kept on the desired course. Rudderless ocean ships at present are sometimes steered by towing heavy casks at the end of long cables.

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ports, where the vehicle itself was also sold at a very good profit. The *Ohio,* the details of whose sailing we have examined at some length, was sold at Philadelphia, according to Hildreth, for $10,000.[13] Making a twenty-five per cent. allowance for exaggeration and error, in order to be within the truth, the cash value of the ships built in the Ohio Valley 1800–1808 must have been over a million and a half dollars, and this apart from the profits on cargoes.

The chief difficulties of the shipping trade thus outlined are obvious to those acquainted with the West at this period, namely, lack of timely information regarding the state of the markets, lack of safe methods of doing business, and lack of systems of credit. It should be noted that this shipping was of two classes as it were, native and foreign, or better, western and eastern. The era began, we have seen, through the initiative of coteries of local merchants at Marietta and Elizabeth. Within three years agents of eastern houses were on the Ohio building vessels for eastern firms; the *Francis* "of New York" and *Robert Hall* "of New York" were built at Marietta and the *Dean* or *Duane* was built at Pittsburgh for Messrs. Meeker, Denman, and Company of Philadelphia. Easterners with sufficient capital had only the material difficulties of winds and tides, and delays consequent thereon, to contend with. The western merchants encountered these and the other difficulties usual in a pioneer, moneyless region. The cargoes sent southward were commonly in charge of one of their own number who was as sheep in the hands of the shearers when he went among the commission-house agents at New Orleans. The wide leeway allowed John Walker, master of the *Monongahela Farmer,* in the instructions given him, illustrates again the dependence of the pioneer community on the capitalists of the monied centres;[14] native ingenuity was often put to the test and not infrequently beaten, but in Walker's case he sold his soured flour directly to New Orleans cracker-makers and was quits with the commission agents. Yet large losses were common. When Providence permitted the waiting ships a right-of-way down the rivers the fleets were too large for their owners' profit; markets were glutted and prices fell. In thirty days in 1803 the price of flour at New Orleans fell from $9.00 to $5.50 and "is coming down" wrote a correspondent "in vast quantities".[15] In

[13] This estimate is doubtless reliable. The writer's efforts to substantiate it, however, have not been successful. But it is a point to recall that the steamboat *Orleans,* built in 1810–1811, of 300 tons, was 138 feet in length. Engine and all, she was valued at $40,000; the engine could hardly have been valued at over $15,000; the remainder was valued at about the same rate per foot as the *Ohio* according to Hildreth. Hildreth Papers, II. 33½.

[14] Manuscripts in possession of the Walker family, Elizabeth, Pa.

[15] Pittsburgh *Gazette,* May 27, 1803.

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far-away Cadiz, where the embargo had been removed, there were 15,000 barrels of flour in the harbor at one time and it brought only $8.00 a barrel.[16] At the same time (1803) it was selling in the West Indies at $6.00 to $7.00 with an 80 cent duty; at Pittsburgh the price was $4.00 a barrel.

Not a few skippers took advantage of the charge at New Orleans for reshipping cotton and took cargoes directly from the up-Mississippi plantations to England. Several Pittsburgh and Marietta ships took on such cargoes at the mouth of the Cumberland and at Governor Winthrop Sargent's plantation near Natchez; in the latter case they got ten cents per hundred for cotton delivered at Liverpool, when the freight rate from New Orleans was only three and a half to four cents per hundred.[17]

The losses incurred from all causes by the merchants of the Pittsburgh region as early as the end of the year 1802, due to lack of shipping methods, caused bitter complaint; they were estimated at $60,000 annually. Wrote an advocate of "big business" at the time: "The country has received a shock; let us immediately extend our views and direct our efforts to every foreign market".[18] The want of storage facilities, advice, and assistance at New Orleans was the prime cause of dissatisfaction, and when the Spaniards ignored the treaty of San Lorenzo the burst of indignation on the part of the West may be considered as the leading factor in softening the constitutional scruples which otherwise might have prevented the Louisiana Purchase. The immediate result of the discontent brings out plainly the *crux* of the difficulty—lack of banking facilities. A plan to form an association of exporters of the Pittsburgh region was outlined at a mass meeting presided over by the venerable Col. Ebenezer Zane, founder of Wheeling; as a result what was known as the "Ohio Company" was formed at Pittsburgh, the membership being limited to the inhabitants of eight Pennsylvania and Virginia counties bordering on the Allegheny and Ohio rivers between Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, and Ohio County, Virginia. The capital stock was $100,000, divided into shares of $100 each.[19] Objection to the plan was raised on the ground that some members would desire to ship at one time and others at another and altercation would result; the object desired, it was stated, could best be obtained by a combination between eastern and western merchants with mutual agents stationed at New Orleans.[20] The

16 Pittsburgh *Gazette*, June 10, 1803.
17 Hildreth Papers, II. 33.
18 Pittsburgh *Gazette*, October 22, 1802.
19 *Ibid.*, October 8, 1802.
20 Pittsburgh *Tree of Liberty*, October 9, 1802.

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Louisiana Purchase promised a new era in western shipping and in 1804 the Ohio Company took the needed step in advance when it formed an "office of discount and deposit" as a western branch of the Bank of Pennsylvania (of Philadelphia); its president was John Wilkins, jr., assisted by a board of directors consisting of Messrs. O'Hara, Neville, and Berthoud—all leading exporters of the region.[21] The cashier of the "Office" gave drafts on the Bank of Pennsylvania at one per cent. premium, thus establishing the first banking relationship between the Mississippi Basin and the Atlantic Coast; that it came about through the exigencies of the ship-builders of the Ohio Valley and was established by the exporters of the "Monongahela Country" is a significant fact.

It has already been hinted that the temporary embargo of 1803, which, for the time being, forbade the use of the port of New Orleans, was influential in calming the scruples of many who might have objected to the purchase. This is doubtless understated; although the economic necessity of controlling the lower Mississippi had long been discussed, the acuteness of the feeling when New Orleans was closed during the interim of change of governments can be attributed to the new, wide outlook that western men were taking concerning the relationship of the Mississippi Valley to World Commerce in the ship-building age. As early as March, 1802, these Westerners were wondering what the fate of free navigation would be when Louisiana should pass into the hands of Napoleon. On October 16, 1802, all rights in the case were withdrawn by the Intendant and forty days were allowed American ships to leave port. This was corrected May 20, 1803, but the flurry caused by it stopped the axes ringing in Ohio Valley shipyards and threw western merchants into a panic. Upwards of two million dollars' worth of goods had been transported into the West in the year 1802, practically all of it purchased on credit. Natchez merchants alone had taken over three hundred thousand dollars' worth, to be paid for in cotton. Little wonder that they repeated the ancient threat to "arm themselves, descend the river", etc.[22] But, of

[21] Pittsburgh *Gazette*, January 6, 1804. The Bank of Kentucky was established in 1802; the writer has not been able to find that it gave drafts on any eastern institution. The New Orleans Bank was established in 1804. The Miami Exporting Company, the only contemporary rival of the Ohio Company, asked the Ohio legislature to grant it a charter that would permit it to use its capital for banking purposes if the use of it as an exporting company did not prove successful. This was refused. Burnet's "Letters", Ohio Historical *Transactions*, vol. I., pt. I., pp. 149–151.

[22] Correspondent to the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, February 18, 1803. American historians, without exception, in recounting the incident of the purchase of Louisiana have implied that the commissioners were utterly surprised at the

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greater interest, the new era of western life is presaged in the terms used now in estimating what the loss of the Mississippi would cost the nation.[23] The total loss was figured at $300,000,000, as follows: 50,000,000 acres of western land decreasing $2.00 per acre; loss on land sold on guarantee, $10,000,000; a total loss on the remaining 200,000,000 acres at $1.00 per acre, $200,000,000.[24] However extreme this may have sounded in the ears of Congress, it may well be believed that argument of this character placed before the nation at large, in a light not recognized before, the great value of the "waste and vacant lands". The practical result of the temporary embargo can be estimated by its effect upon the shipyards at Marietta, doubtless the most important in the West. In 1804 and 1805 only one ship, two brigs, and a schooner were launched, with a total tonnage of 610; while in 1806 and 1807 more than ten were launched, five of them alone having a total of 1700 tons.

Upon the passage of Jefferson's embargo in 1807 the business was utterly abandoned. A local poet at Marietta on July 4, 1808, sang:

Our ships all in motion
Once whiten'd the Ocean
They sailed and returned with a cargo;
Now doomed to decay
They have fallen a prey
To Jefferson, worms, and embargo.[25]

Those who have corrected the exaggerated statements of earlier writers concerning the baneful effect of the embargo on the Atlantic Coast may well note the actual disaster it brought to a growing, prosperous business on the western waters. The embargo was removed just at the dawn of the steamboat age, for in 1810 Zadok

suggestion that the United States should purchase the entire territory. If so, they had not been reading American papers during the preceding year. For more than a year before the purchase it was current rumor that Napoleon desired to sell the province to Great Britain or the United States, and the very price received for it, fifteen millions, was quoted as early as April, 1802, Philadelphia *Gazette*, March 15, 22, and 29, 1802; *Aurora*, April 2 and 3, 1802; Pittsburgh *Gazette*, April 9, 1802; *Western Spy*, January 19, 1803.

[23] The value of the fur-trade of the Great Lakes, 1801–1805, great as it was, was exceeded by that of the Mississippi Basin at this time. The revenues collected by the government in this period from the Great Lake ports were $51,137.15; from the ports of the Mississippi Basin in the same period was received $55,481.83. Pittsburgh *Commonwealth*, January 29, 1806.

[24] Pittsburgh *Gazette*, March 25, 1803, quoting Senator Ross's speech in Congress, February 14, 1803.

[25] Manuscript in possession of Capt. J. G. Barker, Marietta, Ohio.

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Cramer wrote: "Now the white sail of commerce is to give place to vessels propelled by steam."[26] This new era was foreseen on the Ohio as early as 1805, when Captain McKeever built and sent to New Orleans a steamboat which was to have its engine installed at the latter port.[27]

ARCHER B. HULBERT

[26] *Navigator*, 1811.
[27] *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Mercury*, June 25, 1805.

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THE READJUSTER MOVEMENT IN VIRGINIA

BETWEEN the end of Reconstruction and the beginning of the recent educational and industrial renaissance there occurred in each of the Southern States a series of independent political movements more or less successful. The product of many and varied forces of discontent, they were all professedly in the interest of the common white man. Studied together they would perhaps show the process by which, during a period of reaction against the ultra-democratic views of carpet-baggers and scalawags, when the South was "solid" and ruled by "Bourbons" and "Confederate Brigadiers", the way was being prepared for the later democratic advance. Of these movements none was at once earlier and more far-reaching than that which centred around the state debt of Virginia.[1]

I.

With her restoration to the Union in 1870 Virginia's problems of external adjustment virtually ceased. But congressional reconstruction had not solved her internal problems. These were, grouping them broadly, party reorganization, economic rehabilitation, and the future relations of races and of classes.

Two plans for the solution of these problems had, indeed, already appeared, each reflecting with fair accuracy ideas deep-rooted and long to persist. The Republican party, controlled by negroes and carpet-baggers, favored an ultra-democratic revolution: suffrage, office-holding, and jury-service based on manhood only, with the temporary disqualification of the fittest classes; equality of civil and social privilege; taxation according to wealth;[2] state support of public education and charities; elaborate governmental machinery of the modified New England type. And so fully was the party committed to these policies that it had embodied them in a constitution which it had offered for acceptance or rejection *in toto*.

[1] As the author intends to publish soon a longer and fully documented account of this movement, he has deemed it unnecessary to burden this article with detailed references to the very numerous sources on which it is based. Among these may be mentioned: the papers of W. H. Ruffner, L. E. Harvie, William Mahone, A. Fulkerson; contemporary Richmond, Norfolk, and Fredericksburg newspapers; pamphlets in the Virginia State Library; personal recollections, written and oral; and, of course, the *Acts of the General Assembly*.

[2] There was a poll-tax of one dollar. A few other exceptions might also be noted.

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For aid and comfort it relied upon an intimate association, already established, with the national Republican party and the federal administration. But to leaders of the old régime such "Yankeeizing" and "Africanization" was intolerable. In direct and defiant opposition they proclaimed the former standard of aristocratic individualism and solidarity of the native whites in defense of it. And having organized as "Conservatives" and affiliated with the national Democracy they had planned to defeat the new constitution, with all its democratic features, quite regardless of the probable consequences. Distinctive too, at this time, was the bent of Republicans towards repudiation of old debts, both public and private, and the determination of Conservatives to pay "dollar for dollar".

But before a decision as between these plans could be made, a third and compromising movement had been organized. Business men, residing chiefly in towns and representing large interests, fathered it. Rejecting "Radicalism and "Bourbonism" alike, they fixed upon home-rule by the fittest as the great desideratum, and upon acceptance of the new constitution with all its democratic features but without the disfranchising clause as the most practicable means of obtaining it. On this platform they invited the support of all, regardless of race or national party preference. And having quickly secured the "Conservative" name and organization and the co-operation of the "True Republican" faction, it was they who had brought the state back into the Union.[3]

For the next seven years (1870–1876) the working out of the state's problems went on quietly and with varying success. In party politics the spirit of the compromise movement at first prevailed. The new Conservative party, adhering to its original ideas of a single state issue and loose party lines, permitted no other issue to be discussed in its conventions, excluded no one who claimed to support it. Republicans, quickly shifting from their attitude of "proscription and hate", frankly offered to native whites not only liberal and progressive state policies but also a share in the determination of national policies and the distribution of federal patronage. None the less, negro solidarity soon reappeared, while with most whites conservatism and respectability became synonymous. And so, since the whites outnumbered the negroes two to one,[4] the Republican party lost every state election. With 1876 it virtually ceased to exist save as a pretext for distributing federal patronage

[3] *Cf.* Eckenrode, *Political History of Virginia during Reconstruction.*

[4] The negro constituted one-half of the population east of the Blue Ridge Mountains (*i. e.*, in two-thirds of the whole state) and about one-seventh west of them.

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among a detested set taking their political cue always from Washington. The Conservative party, on the other hand, had by this time become a great floundering mass. Of organization it had little, and that little was not strong. Since its conventions refused even to discuss economic and social policies, these were threshed out locally, and many party factions resulted. Effective decision of such measures, however, was usually made at the state capital—in the legislature, indeed, but under the influence of forces that were far from having their source in any declared will of the party masses.

Economic rehabilitation proved peculiarly difficult. For the end of the war had found the farms devastated in three-fourths of the state, the railroads wrecked, available capital almost entirely destroyed, the old prevailing system of labor overthrown. The succeeding five years had, indeed, been tided over fairly well because prices were good and old debts were staved off by emergency laws. But now, in 1870, stay laws were unconstitutional and the competition of the virgin West had begun. None the less, the succeeding seven years saw much real progress. The whites went to work as never before and the negroes settled down as fairly independent laborers. With borrowed money better farming equipment was secured. Fertilizers came into extensive use. Small farms passed into the hands of the hitherto landless. Cattle-raising in the southwest, oyster-planting in the lower reaches of the rivers and coves, and trucking in the Norfolk region—all showed a decided advancement. There was a marked development in transportation and manufacturing. This, together with the shifting of population, made the towns fairly prosperous. But meantime private debt had been increasing by leaps and bounds, amounting in 1874 to perhaps thirty millions;[5] and the legislature, of course, utterly failed in its efforts to enforce a moderate interest rate or proper homestead exemption. Though production increased steadily, reaching the *ante bellum* level by 1880, prices of farm products declined heavily and persistently. Discouraged by the prospects, owners of the old plantations and their heirs left in large numbers; and irresolute legislation and unconvincing arguments of the press could bring but few to take their places. Under this triple influence the market for farm lands began to disappear. Then, with 1877, came the full effects of the nation-wide panic. Business failures occurred by the hundred. All the railroads but one were in the hands of receivers. Newspapers published columns of those unable to pay their taxes, and the courts were busy ordering sales of property for debt. And opinion was soon

[5] Governor's Message, December 2, 1874, appendix (Senate *Journal*, 1874–1875, doc. 1).

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all but unanimous that the assessed value of realty, less in 1870 than in 1860 and less in 1875 than in 1870, must be again reduced, perhaps one-fourth.

Under such conditions the state debt necessarily proved a serious and perplexing burden. Contracted originally in the development of transportation,[6] the accumulation of war and Reconstruction interest had increased it by 1870 to some forty-five millions. Offsetting this were stocks and bonds of the various railroad and canal companies, worth on the market perhaps ten millions in state bonds.[7] The legislature of 1870–1871, inexperienced and subjected to powerful lobbies, bargained away the bulk of the assets and passed "the funding act".[8] Under the latter, one-third of the debt was to be accounted for by the state in accordance with such terms as she should afterwards make with West Virginia; the rest might be funded, with interest at the old rate[9] and collectible through coupons which must be received for taxes and other public dues. For this policy the chief argument was the "honor and credit of the state" and its importance in the restoration of private business. The terms, however, were so manifestly one-sided and the means used to secure them so notorious that the succeeding legislature, more intelligent and more representative of the farming interests, attempted to undo them. But when, in 1872, the state supreme court declared[10] the funding act irrepealable as regards bonds already funded (which amounted to some two-thirds of the whole), the leading classes acquiesced in the decision. Interest on the debt was now more than one-half the total revenue; and the annual deficit was approximately a million dollars. To wipe out this deficit, legislative and executive leaders starved the schools, asylums, and maimed soldiers, revised the criminal code, reduced their own numbers and salaries, raised the tax on general property to the highest practicable point, and reached out for new objects of taxation, notably business licenses, dogs, and the consumption of liquor. Still, in 1877, the deficit was some $600,000. Though the schools were closing, no interest was being paid on one class of the debt and the market clearly feared its eventual repudiation. But the preferred class of creditors, backed by court, press, and party leaders, would consider no practicable

[6] *Cf.* Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia.*

[7] Governor's Message, March 8, 1870.

[8] Act of March 28, 1870. The lobbyists represented both the railroads and the bondholders. Among them was a brother of Governor Walker.

[9] On most of the debt this was 6 per cent.

[10] Antoni *v.* Wright, 22 Grattan 833.

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compromise, and, by thrusting their coupons upon the market at inconvenient seasons, could stop the very wheels of government.[11]

Meantime race relations had come to be in large measure redefined. Economically, the negro must work out his own salvation, unhelped and unhindered. Socially, he must remain in a rigidly separate sphere. He might hold office rarely, vote only when it was not inconvenient. On the other hand, his taxes were light, his schools reasonably good, his personal freedom unrestrained. And despite some complaint of the chain-gang and the whipping-post, of exclusion from jury-service, and of partial disfranchisement, still, with his position as a whole the negro appeared to be content.

Among the whites, the upper and middle classes had seen significant changes. Many of the old plantation class had moved to town and there formed alliances, business and political, with the bondholders, railroads, and other capitalistic interests; the Confederate reaction had brought political power to others. In the counties a stronger middle class was forming—new land-owners, saloon-keepers, cattle-dealers, oyster-planters, merchants. These had begun to rise in the churches and the numerous fraternal and benevolent societies, to share local political leadership, and even to break into the family circles of their weakened social superiors.[12] Still, the new business man found his energy and initiative, the young lawyer his superior equipment, valued but slightly as compared with "experience"; and in public life offices were usually deemed "honors". Among the lower whites conditions refused to improve appreciably. Never had illiteracy been so great, knowledge of public affairs so small. Hard times and competition with the negro kept them literally bowed to the earth. The more serious found solace in the churches, where a Puritan-like religion was preached; others in the saloons, where drunkenness and brawls were frequent. In the public schools they recognized a chance for better things; but the view was dim, the chance remote.

Looking back upon this work of seven years, directors of Conservative policy called it good. And not without reason. For to have averted the horrors which characterized Radical rule in the South without either show of force or self-abasement; to have rendered the freedman harmless and useful and contented; in a time of nation-wide extravagance and corruption to have kept their hands clean and the honor of the state unsullied—these were no slight achievements.

[11] *Cf.* Governor's Message, December 2, 1874 (Senate *Journal*, 1874–1875).
[12] *Cf.* P. A. Bruce in *The South in the Building of the Nation.*

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But dissatisfaction and friction existed within Conservative ranks to a much greater extent than the outside world was led to believe. Already a small group, later known as "original readjusters", had begun to assert that Virginia was under no obligation whatever for one-third of the old state's debt[13] nor for war and reconstruction interest on the rest; because, they said, by the law of nations debts follow the soil and interest ceases when war conditions prevail. The funding act, they maintained, was void because of fraud in its passage, and the decision of the court sustaining it was bad in law and equity and could be reversed or circumvented. Since the state was actually bankrupt, her debt should be accordingly "readjusted". On such a platform Rev. John E. Massey, of the Piedmont section, had won and maintained a seat in the legislature. With the expectation of bringing the matter again before the courts, his co-worker, Col. A. Fulkerson, of the southwest, had carried through one house a bill taxing coupons twenty-five per cent. In the interest of the unprivileged holders, as well as from considerations of public policy, men no less conspicuous than Gov. James C. Kemper and the venerable R. M. T. Hunter, now state treasurer, had sought to secure uniformity of obligations and equality of creditors. The state superintendent of public instruction, Rev. W. H. Ruffner, of the Valley, had openly charged that public funds were being "diverted" to the payment of debt interest, had proved his charge, and won a public verdict against the practice.[14] On the other hand, irreconcilable "Bourbons" had frequently and boldly demanded that public education and all the other democratizing social ideas brought in by Yankees be completely discarded; and they were meeting no little encouragement from men unused to heavy taxes in days before the war. Lacking adequate assistance from the legislature in matters such as railroad rates and schedules, fertilizers and middlemen's profits, some 18,000 farmers had organized themselves into "granges" bent upon self-protection.[15] These were rapidly drifting into politics. Against the concentration of party control in Richmond and allied towns there had been a succession of increasingly successful fights, in which James Barbour, of Culpeper, H. H. Riddleberger, of the Valley, and Mike Glennan, of Norfolk, were leaders. Here and there, especially after the incoming of

[13] Certificates had been issued under the funding act for this one-third. These were called on the market "*Virginia deferred*".

[14] For discussion over the school funds and over the policy of maintaining public schools see state superintendent of public instruction, *Reports*, 1877, 1878; auditor, *Reports*, 1877, 1878; *Southern Planter*, 1875, 1879; *Religious Herald*, 1876, 1878, *passim*.

[15] State Grange, *Proceedings*, 1874–1876; *Southern Planter*, 1872–1876.

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President Hayes, liberal-minded men had protested against the perpetuation of sectionalism and of control through tyranny of popular prejudice. And whenever Republicans had ceased to be dangerous in any locality they were apt to unite with some of these classes of Conservatives in support of independent candidates pledged to "reform".

These forces of discontent were strongest in the west, where no race problem held them in restraint and a deep-seated distrust of the east gave them silent encouragement. Especially vigorous was the anti-debt sentiment of the southwest, a region still largely undeveloped, self-assertive, and lacking in centres of monied influence. In the east they had in the Richmond *Whig* a clever and unscrupulous exponent, extremely democratic in its pretensions. To crystallize them was the task of 1877–1879. The honor of the achievement belongs pre-eminently to Gen. William Mahone.

II.

The son of poor though respected parents in one of the older counties, William Mahone had been educated at the Virginia Military Institute through the aid of friends. Entering the Confederate army as colonel, he came out major-general. With experience in railroad construction and operation he quickly perceived the possibilities of "consolidation", and by 1870 had secured from the state, at a nominal cost, her interest in the connecting lines running west from Norfolk to Bristol. These he wove into a trunk-line, which, in token of his hopes, he called the Atlantic, Mississippi, and Ohio. To facilitate his railroad plans he created a "Mahone following" in politics, consisting largely of young men, self-made men, and the "odds and ends" of the towns. Governor Peirpont was his friend. To him the election of Gilbert C. Walker as governor, in 1869, was largely due. He was credited with securing the nomination of Governor Kemper in 1873. But his ambition, methods, and dictatorial manner had made him many enemies. Competitors dubbed him the "Railroad Ishmael". Walker and Kemper had both broken with him. The party fidelity of his organ, the Richmond *Whig,* was more than once questioned. With his railroad in the hands of an unfriendly receiver—through the contrivance of "Bourbons", the *Whig* asserted—Mahone in 1877 entered the race for the Conservative gubernatorial nomination.

Conservative party managers in early 1877, despite the obvious signs of discontent, were again planning a campaign of enthusiasm and harmony. From the first, however, the candidacy of Mahone

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seems to have been viewed with suspicion and disfavor, and soon the rumor went uncontradicted that the other five aspirants would combine to eliminate him. So Mahone, undoubtedly with a view to forestalling this move, issued[16] in early July a brief and clear declaration in favor of a readjustment of the debt—by compulsion if necessary—together with liberal support of the public schools and no further increase in taxes. The boldness and timeliness of this position evoked widespread public discussion. At the convention Mahone went down in defeat but, despite the violent protests of "debt-payers", the platform committed the party to a position quite similar to his. There was, indeed, a qualification that the readjustment must be "honorable". But just what was meant by this the convention's nominees, lacking Republican opposition, did not see fit to indicate. Likewise in the legislative districts readjustment became the leading issue, loudly, if not intelligently, discussed, often connected with other grievances, and often advocated by unknown men against old favorites. And here, too, dissenting Conservatives appeared to win.[17]

Meeting in caucus with Independents and Republicans the new majority quickly agreed upon legislative officers; these they sustained in the regular party caucus against "debt-payers". Then they accepted and passed, in early 1878, the "Barbour Bill", under which the revenues were apportioned, one-fifth for schools (their constitutional quota), one-half for government expenses, and the rest for interest on the debt. But Governor Holliday, backed by the Conservative press which spoke for the central party organization, refused his assent. And again, as in 1872, respect for authority blocked further legislation.

Thoroughly angry, the leading dissenters now determined to carry the contest into the ensuing congressional campaign by identifying readjustment and greenbackism as both fights of "the people" against the "brokers" and their allies, the courts. They aimed, it would seem, not to disrupt the party, but to supplant the local "rings" and "court-house cliques" and the "Bourbon" congressmen. To this end a steering committee was appointed, among whose members were General Mahone, Colonel Fulkerson, and William H. Mann, afterwards Democratic governor.[18]

[16] Through letters addressed to M. M. Martin, of Charlotte Court House, and Alfred B. Courtney, of the Richmond school-board.

[17] Among those defeated were two ex-governors, William Smith and John Letcher.

[18] Richmond *Dispatch*, July 5, 1878. Governor Mann was not conspicuous in the later movements.

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By this time, however, directors of Conservative policy were prepared to compromise. Pointing out the unwisdom of projecting state issues into a national campaign they succeeded after no little difficulty in securing nominees favorable to the greenback idea but not committed to readjustment.[19] An attempt to form non-partizan "debt-paying associations" was snubbed notwithstanding the prominence of its sponsors. At the second session of the legislature (1878–1879) an unprecedented liberality toward charitable institutions was displayed, and debt-payers were induced to unite with moderate readjusters for the protection of the school revenues. Most important of all, the preferred creditors now brought forward a refunding proposition, soon known as the "McCulloch Bill",[20] which would apparently alleviate the fiscal situation and fulfill the party pledge of 1877.

But to extreme readjusters the success of these measures meant disaster. Accordingly, at the call of about one-fourth of the legislature, some 175 delegates representing three cities and fifty-nine counties met in Richmond, February 25, 1879, to consider what ought to be done to protect the "imperilled rights and interests" of "citizens and taxpayers". Conservatives, representing every social degree, predominated; but the admixture of Independents and Republicans was striking. Through the contrivance of debt-payers a few negroes appeared; these, also, were admitted, though without enthusiasm. An ultra-popular note pervaded the many speeches, and crystallized itself into a formal "address". In this no specific fiscal measure was formulated or endorsed. But the McCulloch Bill was roundly condemned as a contrivance for again deceiving the people, and principles of debt-settlement were laid down which echoed an intense hatred of special privilege and emphasized popular sovereignty and states' rights.[21] Not a word was said as to future party relations. But a complete organization was provided for, and at its head was placed Gen. William Mahone.

Enraged rather than alarmed, Conservative managers now sharply cracked the party whip. Debt-payers and moderate read-

[19] Randolph Tucker was opposed to greenbackism. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston declared himself a "gold greenbacker". Their personal popularity prevented opposition.

[20] So called from Hugh McCulloch, who acted for the "Funding Association of the United States of America", an association formed to handle such debts by Mr. McCulloch, J. P. Morgan, and others a year previous. Richmond *Dispatch*, January 3, 1879.

[21] See *Whig*, February 26, 27, 1879. Features of the McCulloch Bill specifically objected to were: the monopoly of the funding operations given to brokers; the continuation of the tax-receivable coupon feature; the compounding of interest, even though the new burden was much less than the old.

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justers quickly fell into line and, as "funders", pressed the McCulloch Bill to its enactment [22] Then they rested, content with the almost unanimous support of office-holders, lawyers, planters, clergy, press, colleges, and the outside world's approval—forces hitherto dominant.

Readjusters,[23] however, paused not. Beginning spontaneously and somewhat noisily in the southwest they easily perfected strong local organizations there. Then, taking advantage of the spring elections for local officers, Mahone very quietly commenced inciting the dissatisfied of the east—rousing feelings of personal injury among the ruined members of the planter class, stimulating ambitions, choosing men of energy as leaders, especially young men, and tying them to himself in interest. Meantime "Parson" Massey,[24] too, was wandering about the state, preaching and lecturing. Endowed with unusual skill in the off-hand manipulation of figures and with a rare gift for repartee, the farmers heard him gladly, and began to listen very seriously as a prolonged drouth grew more and more alarming.

Not until August did Funders awake to the results of these new methods. Hurriedly calling together the state Conservative committee they made acceptance of the McCulloch Act the test of conservatism, thus "reading out" their opponents and securing for themselves the machinery and hitherto magic name of the old party.[25] Then the whole battery of Conservative orators was turned loose, and soon the plain people saw revived, after a suspension of two decades, the well-loved joint discussions. Here eloquent appeals to honor and haughty denunciation of party "traitors" were met by a queer mixture of fact and half-fact enforced by homely anecdote and cunning appeal to class feeling. Often the spectators indulged in rough interruptions of the speaker, not infrequently they fought among themselves, and the custom of duelling, almost extinct, began to revive. Under this cover, nominations for the legislature were made. Funders, on the whole, chose men of substance and good standing, though it was noted that some refused to enter "the modern scramble for office". Readjuster selections were of nearly equal quality with Funders' in the southwest, but inferior and with a marked tendency toward self-made men of the popular type in the Valley; while in the east, only a few of them could be defended.

22 Act of March 28, 1879.

23 I have used "Readjuster" when referring to the organized party, "readjuster" elsewhere; and "Funder" and "funder" by analogy.

24 Rev. John E. Massey, see p. 739.

25 *Dispatch*, August 7, 1879.

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Meantime Republican leaders—their party still demoralized—were endeavoring to keep the negro quiescent; they themselves, for the most part, favored the McCulloch Act. With this Funders were naturally content. Readjusters at first moved cautiously and cleverly. They had not, they said, invited the negro to their convention, but the issue must be settled by votes and they preferred the "honest negro" to "Bourbon Republicans"; besides, to divide the colored vote had been the policy of the Conservative party in its earlier and purer days. But when the alignment of the whites had become pretty well established, Massey began in Petersburg an open solicitation of colored support. Forthwith the rumor spread that Readjusters would give the negroes more "rights" while Funders would bind their children in servitude for forty years. To counteract this, Funders hired negro speakers and spoke from the same platforms with them—"the best men of both races"—obtained a letter from Frederick Douglass and a telegram from President Hayes in behalf of the McCulloch Act, even supported negro candidates for the legislature. But the habit of opposing whoever bore the Conservative name made progress difficult among the colored masses.

At a fair and reasonably quiet election, Readjusters won a majority of both houses. Two years later a much fuller vote, with the same issue paramount, gave results strikingly similar even in detail. Analyzing and comparing the returns for the two years we find that the whites of the west and the blacks of the east gave approximately two-thirds of their votes to the readjusters. From this it would appear that sectional and racial antipathies largely governed voters. Yet the result would not have been possible but for the support of perhaps a fourth of the whites of the east. With these, as with the whites of the west, long-continued economic depression probably weighed heavily. For of twenty counties selected for the heaviness of their decline in assessed realty values fourteen went Readjuster, in only six of which did the negro constitute a majority; while the prosperous cities and towns, almost without exception, were Funder. Readjusters saw in their victory a triumph of liberal and practical ideas like those of 1869; Funders, another outbreak of radicalism. Certainly, the old leaders and the old ideas were discredited; and the whole South regretted it deeply.

III.

The period of Readjuster control, beginning in December, 1879, and lasting about four years, was marked by radical economic and

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social legislation.[26] In fair accordance with the views of "original readjusters", the "Riddleberger Bill"[27] fixed the amount of the public debt at twenty-one millions—a scaling of some ten millions, aside from the third which law and custom had previously designated as West Virginia's. For this "correct" principle the act offered new bonds bearing interest at one-half the original rate and without privileged features, the ratio of exchange varying in inverse proportion to the amount of interest received since the war by the several classes of outstanding bonds; and acceptance of the new bonds should constitute an absolute release from any liability for West Virginia's third. To compel exchange, the legislature forbade payment of interest on the old forms of indebtedness, whether through appropriations or acceptance of the tax-receivable coupons.[28] By other acts delinquent taxpayers and tax-collectors were called to account, old claims of the state were compromised for cash, and a really serious effort was made at taxing the railroads. While a full treasury was being obtained in these ways, the legislature also began to reverse the old policy of fiscal and social narrowness. Thus they reduced the general tax burden, especially that of the farmer and laborer, liberalized the suffrage through repeal of the poll tax prerequisite, effectually and finally crushed the reviving custom of duelling, abolished the whipping-post, threw open the doors to corporate enterprise especially in the southwest, and began so generous a policy toward public schools and charities that denominational institutions trembled. Equally significant were measures which failed to pass but were favored by a distinct majority of Readjusters:[29] for state inspection of fertilizers and tobacco (hitherto private monopolies) and for an astounding state control over railroads; for the establishment of agricultural experiment stations and for the encouragement of mining; and for the protection of property sold under judicial order from the mismanagement or greed of the lawyers. But of legislation for the special protection or "elevation" of the negro there was none.

That officials were inefficient and "out of sympathy with the people" had long been a complaint of Massey and the older set of Readjusters. The appointive state officials were particularly objects

[26] Readjusters were in control of the legislature for this period. For state officials and employees, see below.

[27] Act of February 14, 1882. It was so called because of the prominence of H. H. Riddleberger, a member of the senate, in its enactment. An earlier "Riddleberger Bill" (*Whig*, February 10, 1880) was vetoed by Governor Holliday.

[28] Acts of January 14 and 26, 1882.

[29] *House Bills*, 1881–1882. The defeat was due to the revolt against Mahone's methods, see p. 740.

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of hatred and envy. "If I can exert any influence", wrote Mahone soon after the victory of 1879, "not one of them shall go unexpelled—and that quickly."[30] In its methods of removal the legislature had little regard for propriety or the law, and with 1882 the "sweep" was nearly complete, from petty clerk and doorkeeper to supreme court and board of control. The same year a Readjuster governor, lieutenant-governor, and attorney-general were installed in the three elective state offices. Already the federal patronage was becoming a Readjuster asset through the activity of United States Senator Mahone; and in early 1882 H. H. Riddleberger was chosen Mahone's "assistant-senator". In character and efficiency the early appointments averaged fairly high. The three popularly elected officials and the federal senators were able men. Judges of the supreme court served full terms without discredit. The important federal appointees were more acceptable than their carpet-bagger and scalawag predecessors. Most well-equipped men, however, refused to share in the "debauching of the state"; and few of those who took office were welcome in the "best homes". "Men of the people", party "workers", and the Republican leaders, "our faithful allies", as a rule received the "plums". Noisiness, extravagance, and petty graft necessarily followed. The old aristocratic idea that offices are "honors" was dead; the newer, that the public official is a public servant, had not arisen. But that the negro was entitled to anything like a proportionate share of the spoils few were democratic enough to believe or rash enough to assert.

Concurrently a party machine and boss were being developed. Under the Readjuster plan of party organization adopted in 1879, delegates to the state convention from the several congressional districts elected committees of three. Collectively, these formed a state committee; separately, they served as congressional committees with power to name the county chairmen, who, in turn, constituted the state senatorial committees. In similar fashion, the caucus of the legislature following apportioned state patronage to the congressional districts for distribution by the Readjuster members therefrom. Supposedly democratic, these measures together vested effective party control in a salaried machine. The head of this machine was the party chairman, General Mahone.[31] At first deriving power chiefly from his personal skill and his ownership of the *Whig,* in 1881 he added a partial control over the federal patronage, which carried with it a corresponding command of the negro vote.

[30] Harvie Papers.

[31] Mahone was chairman of both the state committee and the executive committee. His associates on the latter were virtually appointed by himself.

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Forthwith he eliminated his chief rival, the popular Massey, by defeating him for the gubernatorial nomination. Terrorized, most legislative candidates thereupon gave him a written "pledge" to abide the results of the legislative caucus in all matters affecting the party; and when the caucus met, gag rules were forced upon it, under which a cut-and-dried programme of legislation and appointment was attempted.[32] A revolt followed; but its leaders went the same way as Massey. In complete control but confronted by a dearth of capable and trustworthy lieutenants, Mahone now openly centralized the party organization in himself; and in 1884 he reported from a single committee to a packed convention not only the platform and a plan of party organization but also candidates for the electoral college and delegates to the Republican national convention. Nor was his control in local politics less sweeping or open. And in this system of boss and taskmasters the negro seemed to rejoice.

This machine was used not only to influence the legislation and appointments described above but also to reorganize and rehabilitate the Republican party. Already attempts had been made, by Grant in 1873 and by Hayes in 1877, to detach groups of the better classes of Conservatives through endorsement of liberalism, protection, and an "honest" financial policy for both state and nation. Very naturally, however, considering the quality of Virginia Republicans, these efforts had entirely failed.[33] But in the fall of 1879 a secret arrangement had been made between General Mahone and Gen. Simon Cameron, the boss of Pennsylvania, a result of which was that Republicans of the legislature supported Mahone for the United States Senate.[34] In explanation, the North was told that the debt issue was merely a pretext under cover of which the color line had been broken and "Bourbonism" was being overthrown. Early next year Mahone suggested that Readjusters support as a unit the national party which should bid highest; and only after an all-night session and by a very narrow vote did the Republican state convention decline to offer fusion on the basis of six Readjuster and five Republican electors pledged to Grant. The bargaining process continued in 1881, Mahone giving the Republicans his deciding vote in the Senate[35] and receiving both considerable federal patronage and an endorsement of the "Anti-Bourbon, or Liberal, party"; and again

[32] A. M. Lybrook, in *Dispatch*, September 12, 1882; Frank G. Ruffin, *Mahoneism Unveiled: Facts, Thoughts, and Conclusions.*

[33] Alderman and Gordon, *J. L. M. Curry*, ch. XIV.

[34] Thomas V. Cooper, *American Politics* (ed. 1882), pt. I., p. 263.

[35] *Congressional Record*, 47 Cong., special sess., *passim*; New York *Times*, March, 1881, *passim.*

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in 1882 (the year of the Riddleberger law) when the national congressional committee "earnestly recognized" Readjuster candidates as "administration men". The resulting fusion received formal and authoritative sanction two years later when a solid delegation, headed by Mahone and pledged to Arthur, was recognized by the national Republican convention as regular, notwithstanding the opposition of "Straight-outs", who for four years had been fighting to restore the state's former financial policy and the party leadership of 1871–1877.[36] Henceforth the "Republican party of Virginia" had a new and native leadership, and large areas of white strength in the southwest and the Valley. These for twenty years enabled it to present a strong front; the latter alone to-day preserves it from extinction.

The most substantial results of the Readjuster movement, however, are to be found in the changes wrought in the old dominant party. Taking advantage of a decision of the federal Supreme Court[37] sustaining the crucial part of the Readjuster plan of settling the debt, Conservatives in 1883 declared the finality of that plan, and thereafter supported it so effectively that, in 1893, creditors accepted terms even less favorable. Already, in 1882, under the stress of "Mahoneism", Massey, Fulkerson, and others had been informally invited to return to the party which had disowned them four years before. In 1883 the gates were formally thrown open to "all Conservative Democrats"; and the state convention, to obliterate the past few years, changed the official party name to "Democrat". A new plan of party organization, modelled after the Mahone pattern, was adopted, and at its head were placed business men, "new" men, and not a few ex-Readjusters. Victory followed. The new Democratic legislature imitated its Readjuster predecessors in ruthless removal of opponents and scrupulous reward of workers. With Cleveland's sweep of the federal offices—one of the things for which he was elected, said the *Nation*—and with the election of Fitzhugh Lee as governor in 1885, the Mahone machine gave way completely to the Democratic.[38] The inspiration for all this had come, not from Richmond, but from Washington; and there for years afterwards, as under Mahone, men sought direction and reward. So far from repealing any genuine Readjuster legislation, Democrats perfected and extended it, their conventions even promising separate

[36] *The Nation*, June 12, 1884.

[37] Antoni *v.* Greenhow, 107 U. S. 769.

[38] The "Danville riot", a street fight between whites and negroes, unquestionably influenced the result. It did not, however, materially reduce the Readjuster vote.

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boards of trustees for colored schools, free text-books for all, and a variety of things in the interest of labor. For such, they said, was the "will of the people".

Perhaps we may now venture to evaluate this movement, of which the Readjuster party was the culmination. Originating in conditions of economic distress, social narrowness, and political inertia, the character of its legislation and the social position of many whom it brought to the front mark it as essentially democratic. If it did defy the courts, unduly exalt the legislature, and at length produce an irresponsible boss, when was it otherwise with popular movements? And though considerably less than half the whites supported the party, probably a majority of them had favored its principles before it crystallized and won the negro vote. Nor must we leave unnoticed, in this connection, its treatment of the negro as an integral part of the people. In this respect it differed from Reconstruction radicalism to whose best features it was in general the heir. Its results varied widely in duration and importance. Most obvious among them is the rejuvenation of the Republican party. Though this was rather a by-product, it made legal disfranchisement of the negro a necessity in the eyes of Democrats; and the blindness with which he had followed Mahone gave them a new argument in its favor. Very conspicuous and important was the method of settling the debt. For through it the losses of war were in part shifted to unwilling creditors, and in part to a "sovereign" state; and these radical actions later received the discriminating approval of the market and the courts. Less conspicuous but not less far-reaching was its decisive endorsement of a wider and more efficient social activity on the part of the state, notably in the matters of public education and charities and in the regulation and taxation of common carriers. To what extent it affected ordinary business or modified social relations and standards one cannot easily say. For the tide of economic improvement had probably begun when the Readjuster party was formed and a gradual adjustment of classes had long been in progress. But that Readjuster leaders for a time avowedly planned to maintain a position in national politics upon a purely materialistic basis is not without significance. And there are those who believe that with Democratic acceptance of Readjuster principles and Mahone methods there came a lowered tone in private as well as in public life.

C. C. Pearson.

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

Jefferson and the Virginia Constitution

In the *Nation* for August 7, 1890, appeared a valuable article by the prince of American antiquarians, Mr. W. C. Ford, on Jefferson's draft of the constitution of Virginia. After a century of oblivion this important document was discovered by Mr. Ford, and in the article in the *Nation* was described and criticized. The document itself has been published in the *William and Mary College Quarterly* for July, 1892, by Miss Kate Mason Rowland, of the famous Mason family of Virginia, and both "first draft" and "fair copy" by Mr. Paul Leicester Ford in the second volume of the *Writings* of Jefferson. It, however, has recently been discovered that Jefferson's draft had been published and discussed as early as 1806. It had, as is well known, been given by Jefferson, then in Congress, to Wythe for presentation to the convention. Found in the papers of Wythe, on his death in the year named, by his close friend and executor, William Duval, the manuscript was shown to Thomas Ritchie, editor of the Richmond *Enquirer*. In that paper, June 20, 1806, for the first time the Jefferson draft of the constitution of 1776 was published, along with an "original" Declaration of Independence.

The editorial note accompanying the two documents is of interest and follows:

> Among the literary reliques of the venerable George Wythe, were found the following rare and curious papers in the handwriting of Mr. Jefferson. The first is a copy of the original Declaration of Independence, as it came from the hands of the author. The other is a plan of a Bill of Rights and of a Constitution for Virginia, composed by Mr. Jefferson. For the permission to peruse and publish these papers, we are indebted to the politeness of Mayor Duval, the sole executor of the estate. . . . The *Bill* and *Constitution* as we have them in manuscript, are without any mark to note the date of their production. It is presumed however, that they were written in 1776. The Constitution, written by Mr. Jefferson, in '83, is already published in the Appendix to some of the Editions of his *Notes on Virginia*.

The publication of the draft in the *Enquirer* appears to have been unnoticed or forgotten. There were, however, other men besides Duval and Ritchie who caught a glimpse of the original manuscript; it would appear from the succeeding extract that it was deposited

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somewhere in the archives of Virginia, from which it disappeared, as have many other relics of those momentous days.

William Wirt in the following brings us to 1818, for in his *Life of Henry,* in a note on page 196 (first three editions), he says: "There now exists among the archives of this State, an original draught of a constitution for Virginia, in the handwriting of Mr. Jefferson." By 1829, however, the document seems, from the speech of Benjamin Watkins Leigh quoted below, to have disappeared from the archives. Speaking as a Conservative in the Constitutional Convention of 1829–1830, Leigh, like Mr. Ford, raises the question of Jefferson's democracy in 1776.

> I know [he says] that Mr. Jefferson himself prepared a Constitution for Virginia, and sent it to Williamsburg that it might be proposed to the Convention, during the session. . . . I have seen the project of the Constitution, which Mr. Jefferson offered, in the Council Chamber, in his own handwriting, tho' it cannot now be found—and I have since cursed my folly that I neglected to take a copy of it, in order to compare Mr. Jefferson's democracy of *that day,* with George Mason's practical republicanism.

In 1829, as we know, Leigh belonged to the reactionary school of thinkers who no longer recognized the authority of the great Democrat.

I know of little else with regard to the history of Jefferson's draft. It would certainly be of great interest to discover what became of the manuscript used by Thomas Ritchie and to determine whether it was the same as either of the drafts discovered by Mr. W. C. Ford. An effort has been made to solve that problem, but without success. But however profitable a discussion of the identity of the documents would be, I am much more interested in the *interpretation* of the Jeffersonian constitution. There would seem to me considerable difficulty in accepting the theory that Jefferson's proposals were undemocratic or were more undemocratic than the constitution as adopted in 1776. It is true that in Jefferson's draft there are odd suggestions here and there; but a detailed comparison with the constitution as adopted would seem to make certain that Jefferson's ideas were certainly not *less* democratic than those adopted and also not inconsistent, in important respects, with his well-known opinions of later years. After a careful consideration of the subject, one may be pardoned for suspecting that it was not its late arrival alone that prevented the adoption of Jefferson's plan.

According to Jefferson:

> All male persons of full age and sane mind, having a freehold estate in [one-fourth of an acre] of land in any town, or in [25] acres of land in

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the country, and all persons resident in the colony who shall have paid scot and lot to government the last [two years], shall have right to give their vote in the election of their respective representatives.

This section represents an advance over the suffrage qualifications in Virginia accepted by the constitution of 1776, and is exactly in line with Jefferson's later democratic contentions. The same democratic advance is seen in Jefferson's scheme of apportioning representation on the basis of the distribution of electors. This is beyond anything Virginia has enjoyed down to the present day. Inasmuch as the constitutional battles in Virginia from 1829 to 1850 were to be fought around these two points of democracy, suffrage and apportionment of representation, they must be emphasized as essential features fixing the radically democratic character of his proposals. The effort further to democratize the holding of land, prohibiting the appropriation of public land to any already holding as much as fifty acres, and the provision in his constitution that "Descents shall go according to the law of Gavelkind, save only that females shall have equal rights with males", are of peculiar importance. As a matter of fact, one of the things in which Jefferson was at this time distinctly interested and continued to be interested was a land policy. In 1785 he found property in France concentrated in a few hands and thought that legislators "cannot invent too many devices for subdividing property". Facing the problem for America he said:

It is too soon yet in our country to say that every man who cannot find employment, but who can find uncultivated land, shall be at liberty to cultivate it, paying a moderate rent. But it is not too soon to provide by every possible means that as few as possible shall be without a little portion of land. The small landowners are the most precious part of the State.

The innocent or fantastic looking provisions in his constitution of 1776 are part of a programme much more important than how this or that man should obtain office. Of equal significance is the provision that "No person hereafter coming into this country shall be held within the same in slavery under any pretext whatever", and the provision that "All persons shall have full and free liberty of religious opinion; nor shall any be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious institution."

It is easy to put too much emphasis on the structural side of Jefferson's programme. That was not where Jefferson's heart was; his heart was in the promotion of popular participation in government through a wide privilege of franchise and the equal distribution of representation: but even more in the promotion of religious and economic equality of opportunity. His heart was in a democ-

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racy that counts. But even on the structural side, Jefferson's draft, from the point of view of democracy, stands the test of a comparison with the constitution as adopted. In the plan adopted large powers of appointment were placed in the general assembly. In Jefferson's plan these powers were placed in the "House of Representatives"—in the body closest to the people. Jefferson likewise provides for the popular election of sheriffs; the constitution as adopted placed their choice with the governor on nomination of the county courts. Further, the constitution as adopted had no provision for amendment. But in Jefferson's draft occurs the following:

> None of these fundamental laws and principles of government, shall be repealed or altered, but by the personal consent of the people on summons to meet in their respective counties on one and the same day by an act of legislature to be passed for every special occasion; and if in such county meetings the people of two-thirds of the counties shall give their suffrages for any particular alteration or repeal referred to them by the said act, the same shall be accordingly repealed or altered, and such repeal or alteration shall take its place among these fundamentals and stand on the same footing with them in lieu of the article repealed or altered.

As a matter of fact, Jefferson did not propose that the *first* constitution should go into effect until it had been passed on by the people. For according to Jefferson's intention: "It is proposed that this bill, after correction by the convention, shall be referred by them to the people, to be assembled in their respective counties; and that the suffrages of two-thirds of the counties shall be requisite to establish it." It does not seem to me that the similarity of Jefferson's plan with that of "A Native", sponsored by Carter Braxton, is more than superficial. Limitations of space make impossible a detailed comparison here. The great reforms, however, in descent, labor, landholding, suffrage, apportionment, the method of amending the fundamental law, religious liberty, which Jefferson provided for are ignored by the "Native". There was little about Jefferson's proposals to be ashamed of. There is little in them that is undemocratic. If the "Native's" draft was a programme of the views of "the dons, the bashaws, the grandees, the patricians, the sachems, the nabobs", the scheme adopted, even with its noble Bill of Rights, was an effective system for the preservation of the political, geographical, and economic inequalities of Virginia before the Revolution. Jefferson's programme was a thorough overhauling of internal conditions in the new commonwealth and the establishment of equality of privilege and opportunity. George Mason was a wise, patriotic, and practical man, but he was not a social reformer; Jef-

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ferson was. Wythe was writing to a sympathetic friend when on July 27 he wrote Jefferson, "the system agreed to in my opinion requires reformation. In October I hope you will effect it."

During the rest of his life, when in Virginia, Jefferson was endeavoring to "effect it"; his draft of 1776 in its essential features was not a contrast with his later ideas, but the charter of the fundamental reforms for which the author of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill for Religious Freedom fought until his death. Nor is the force of this statement diminished by the fact that Jefferson came to believe in a popularly elected executive and judiciary. The wonder is not that he was so conservative and fantastic in 1776, but that he was so democratic and farseeing.

D. R. ANDERSON

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DOCUMENTS

The Commencement of the Cane Sugar Industry in America, 1519–1538 (1563)[1]

MANUEL DE LA PUENTE Y OLEA in *Los Trabajos Geográficos de la Casa de la Contratación* (Seville, 1900) on page 400 quotes a letter written by "the Catholic Kings" under date of May 23, 1493, ordering twenty farmers or field-hands to accompany Columbus on his second voyage, and Columbus states, in his memorial to Torres, written from the city of Isabella on January 30, 1494,[2] that although these men sickened, the sugar-cane which they planted took root. Peter Martyr in his first Decade refers specifically to these plantings and remarks that they flourished.[3]

Las Casas says (*Historia*, V. 28) that the first attempt at making sugar was made in 1505 or 1506, by one Aquilon, with rude apparatus, and about 1516, by one Villosa, with better.[4] The historian Oviedo claims to have taken the first sample of sugar made in La Española to Spain in 1516. Puente y Olea in the work mentioned cites (pp. 401–402) the account books of the Casa de la Contratación to show the arrival in June, 1517, of a sample box of sugar sent by the Jeronimites at Santo Domingo to "Their Highnesses". These monks had been granting title to lands for sugar estates (Archivo General de Indias, 139–1–6, vol. 8, p. 251r) and even, possibly, encouraging the industry by cash premiums to planters (Herrera). On July 22, 1517, Cardinal Ximénez, in acknowledging the gift, expressed (A. G. de I., 139–1–5) the opinion that sugar could readily be manufactured in La Española.

[1] These papers, illustrating, it is believed with much interest, the small beginnings of one of the greatest of American industries, are contributed by Miss Irene A. Wright, now in Seville. They were found by her in the Archivo General de Indias, in that city. Miss Wright has also contributed the introduction. For the annotations, however, she is not responsible; and it should perhaps also be mentioned that the remoteness of Seville under the circumstances of the present year has prevented the managing editor from learning seasonably whether the notes in the original which he has characterized as marginal may not in fact be endorsements.

[2] Thacher, *Christopher Columbus*, II. 300.

[3] MacNutt's translation, I. 88.

[4] An annalist quoted in a foot-note of Oppenheim's Helps, however (I. 51), states that the first sugar-canes were brought to the island from the Canaries by Aquilon in 1506, and that the first mills belonged to Cristóbal and Francisco de Tapia.

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Under date of January 22, 1518, the Licentiate Zuazo, writing to the crown from that island, reported (A. G. I., 2–1–3/22) that cane grew tall and thick as a man's wrist and "ya tambien se comienzan a hacer ingenios para hacer azucar que sera cosa de grandisima riqueza".

The sugar industry already existed in the Canaries, from which islands La Española had been importing (A. G. I., 139–1–4, p. 122r) the merchandise; therefore it was to the Canaries that the nascent industry in Santo Domingo turned for skilled labor (document no. I., below).

The governors of Teneriffe and Las Palmas were instructed to the same effect (A. G. I., 139–1–6, vol. 8, p. 121) and Lope de Sosa, governor of Castilla del Oro, was ordered (139–1–6) to pick up these workmen, when his fleet touched at the Canaries, and to convey them to La Española.

Since the industry seemed to promise great things the crown not only favored it but besought favor for it from the Church as well (document no. II., below).

The matter of tithing sugar, and of the establishment and pay of priests on sugar estates, was the subject of long and bitter quarrel between mill-owners and ecclesiastical authorities (no. III.). Documents preserved at Seville contain full details of the long disputes concerning tithing and allied matters; the quarrel of which they were the root did not attain to the full force of its animosity until a period later than that under consideration in this collection of documents.

The audiencia at Santo Domingo was early empowered to grant "lands and water" for sugar estates (no. IV.).

The municipal councils considered the audiencia's authority to grant lands for sugar estates to be an infringement upon their privileges (no. V.). A *modus vivendi* was agreed upon (nos. VI., VII.).

The crown fostered the industry by loans of money to mill-owners (no. VIII.). Further to foster the industry, implements and materials needed in the construction of sugar mills were exempted from duty (no. IX.).

Later, when the Licentiate Juan de Vadillo came to audit accounts, he found that these loans had not been made with entire impartiality and honesty, and he found it necessary to proceed cautiously in attempting collections (no. X.).

Later still, mill slaves and machinery were exempted from forced sales for debts; the intention was to keep them in operation. Creditors were to look to their product for payment of obligations (no. XI.).

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By the middle of 1520 forty mills were in course of construction (no. XII.). Before the end of that year three mills were grinding with water-power and three with horse-power; the sugar industry was, then, definitely established in the New World before the end of 1520 (no. XIII.). Licentiate Figueroa's words italicized in document no. XIII. may be considered the birth-certificate of the sugar industry in the western hemisphere. Their publication here makes it for the first time possible to fix a date for the establishment of the industry for support of which an original source may be quoted; heretofore reliance was necessarily on secondary sources the best of whom were only approximately right (see Las Casas, Oviedo, Herrera, *et als.*, and Saco).

The new industry began to protest early against the hampering effects of Seville's monopoly of American trade. The planters desired liberty to sell their crop in Flanders (no. XIV.). Evidently sugar from La Española did reach that country (no. XV.).

The island also desired to protect itself against Portuguese competition by obtaining a prohibition against the importation of foreign-made sugars (no. XVI.).

Nevertheless, between 1525 and 1530 the sugar business in La Española fell on hard times, due largely to political conditions with which it had to contend (no. XVII.).

The industry, however, survived all hardships. Planters prospered and their pride grew with their prosperity (nos. XVIII., XIX.).

IRENE A. WRIGHT.

I. KING CHARLES TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE CANARY ISLANDS, AUGUST 16, 1519.[5]

El Rey.

nuestro governador de las islas de grand canaria e a vuestros logar thenientes. sabed que en la isla española de las indias del mar oceano se han fecho e cada dia se hasen ingenios de Açucar e se labra e para lo magnificiar e haser e labrar ai falta de maestros e ofiçiales e soi informado que en esas islas los ai e que ai algunos que yrian a ello de buena voluntad sino que otras personas a quien toca ynteres procuran de se lo estorvar e porque a nuestro servicio e al bien e poblaçion de la dicha isla conviene que a ella vayan los mas maestros e ofiçiales que ser pueda e querian que pues para lo desas islas de canaria no haran falta pues ai sobra dellos fuesen a la dicha isla española, por ende yo vos mando que por las mejores vias e maneras que podieredes e vieredes que

[5] A. G. I., est. 139, caj. 1, leg. 6: Registros, Libros generalísimos de Reales órdenes, nombramientos, gracias, Años 1518 á 1526. The marginal summary reads: "ysla española. al governador de las yslas de grand canaria que procure de enbiar a la ysla spañola maestros de yngenios de açucar."

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convengan procurareis como desa isla vayan a la dicha isla española todos los mas maestros de haser ingenios e açucar que ser puedan e a los que quisieren yr proveais que en ello no les sea puesto enbargo ni inpedimiento alguno antes los favorescais e ayudeis poniendo sobre ello todas las penas que convengan de mi parte, las quales esecutad en las personas e bienes que lo estorvaren hasiendolo asi pregonar e publicar por las plaças e mercados e otros logares acostunbrados de las çibdades villas e logares desas dichas islas por manera que venga A noctiçia de todos en lo qual entended como en cosa de nuestro serviçio que en ello me servireis. de barçelona a XVI de agosto de 1519 años. YO EL REY. Refrendada del secretario. covos.[6] señalada de los dichos. (Obispo de burgos e badajoz e de don garçia e çapata.)[7]

II. THE KING TO HIS AMBASSADOR IN ROME, SEPTEMBER 14, 1519.[8]

El Rey.

don luis carros[9] del mi consejo e mi enbaxador en corte de rroma. sabed que A plasido A nuestro señor que en las indias e tierra firme del mar oceano con el mucho cuidado que avemos tenido de las mandar poblar labrar e cultivar para que en ellas Abitasen e permanesçiesen los xristianos españoles que A ellas han ido e van cada dia para que con su conversaçion los indios naturales dellas fuesen industriados e enseñados en las cosas de nuestra santa fee catolica, entre las otras cosas e frutos que en las dichas islas se An dado se An fecho e hasen e dan en mucha abundançia cañaverales de açucar que se han començado a haser Algunos ingenios e por que nos continuando en el dicho cuidado e deseo avemos mandado que de nuevo vayan A la dicha isla muchos ofiçiales de haser Açucar e otros labradores e pobladores A los quales demas de las otras merçedes e libertades que les avemos otorgado e mandado haser se les ha dicho que suplicariamos a su santidad mande de que de los dichos açucares no pague diesmo como de las otras cosas sino de treinta uno, por que a causa de la distancia que ai destos Reynos A las dichas islas e estar en ellas los mantenimientos e cosas de que se han de faser los dichos ingenios muy subidos en preçios los que hasen e han de faser los dichos ingenios gastarian mucho en ellos e sy del fruto oviesen de pagar el diesmo como se paga de las otras cosas se perderian e no lo podrian sofrir e seria causa que los dichos ingenios de Açucar e el fructo della se perdiese que seria mucho daño para el bien e poblaçion de aquellas partes, por lo qual a suplicaçion de los pobladores e abitadores que fasta agora ay en las dichas yslas e de los que de nuebo quieren yr a faser la

[6] Francisco de los Cobos, secretary to Charles V.

[7] The first was Juan Ruiz de Fonseca, bishop of Burgos 1514–1524; the second, Pedro de la Mota, bishop of Badajoz 1516–1520; the third, it is presumed, Garcia de Loaysa, the king's confessor, afterward cardinal; the fourth, the licentiate Zapata, a member of the council of Castile.

[8] A. G. I., est. 139, caj. 1, leg. 6: Registros, Libros generalísimos de Reales Ordenes, nombramientos, gracias, etc., Años 1518 á 1526. The marginal summary reads: "a don luis carros. que suplique a su santydad que de los açucares y yngenios que se hizieren en las yndias no se lleve mas de treynta uno y no como agora se lleva de diez uno."

[9] Don Luis de Carroz, Spanish ambassador to England 1509–1515, to Rome 1518–1520.

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dicha poblaçion avemos acordado de suplicar a nuestro muy sancto padre que mande que de los dichos Açucares no se lleve el diesmo sino de treinta uno, por ende yo vos mando e encargo que con mucha diligençia por virtud de la dicha carta de creençia que con la presente va informeis luego a su santidad desto e de mi parte le supliqueis mande proveer e despachar bula para que de aqui adelante en las indias e islas e tierra firme del mar oçeano de los açucares que en ellas se hizieren no se lleve el diesmo sino de treinta uno, porque con esto las personas que quisieren hazer los dichos ingenios e açucares lo podran sofrir o los obispos que agora estan proveidos en algunas de las dichas islas[10] quando fueren pobladas Reçiben en ello provecho e por que esto conviene mucho que se haga Asi para la poblaçion e perpetuidad de aquellas partes sere de vos muy servido en que con toda diligençia posible entendais en el despacho dello e en lo enbiar lo mas brevemente que ser pueda. de barcelona a XIIII de setienbre de MDXIX años. YO EL REY. Refrendada del secretario. covos. señalada de los obispos de burgos e badajos e don garçia e çapata.

III. THE KING TO THE AUDIENCIA OF SANTO DOMINGO, JUNE 20, 1526.[11]

El Rey.

nuestros oydores de la nuestra audiencia Real de las yndias que Reside en la isla española. benito muños canonigo de la yglesia de santo domingo y en nonbre del dean e cabildo e clesia della me hiso Relaçion que çerca del dezmar Açucar e del pan caçaby ay muchos pleytos e diferencias, por que no lo quieren dezmar syno el açucar en cañas y el caçabi en las Raises de yuca, en lo qual diz que viene mucho perjuyzio a la dicha yglesia y beneficiados della y son defraudados los diezmos de quatro partes las tres por que los dichos beneficiados conpelidos de neçesidad toman de veynte e çinco arrobas de açucar una de diezmo, y porque el caçabi lo den en pan hecho les dexan defraudar la terçia parte, de que las yglesias y beneficiados dellas Reçiben mucho daño y es en perjuizio de las animas e conçiençias de los desmeros, e me suplico vos mandase que vosotros proveyesedes de manera que los dichos diesmos se paguan conforme ajuste y cesasen los dichos fraudes e no oviese sobrello pleytos ni diferençias o como la mi merçed fuese, por ende yo vos mando que veades lo suso dicho y proveais çerca dello conforme ajuste de manera que çesen los dichos pleitos e no aya sobrello diferençias. fecha en granada a veynte dias del mes de junio de mill e quinientos e veynte e seis años. YO EL REY. Refrendada de covos. señalada del obispo de osma y del doctor Caravajal y del doctor beltran y del obispo de çiudad Rodrigo.[12]

[10] Santo Domingo (and Concepción de la Vega), San Juan de Puerto Rico, Santiago de Cuba.

[11] A. G. I., est. 139, caj. 1, leg. 7: Indiferente General, Registros, Libros generalisimos de Reales órdenes, nombramientos, gracias, etc., Años 1526 á 1528. The marginal summary reads: "la yglesia de santo domingo. sobrel dezmar del açucar y caçabi."

[12] Garcia de Loaysa was now bishop of Osma. Dr. Lorenzo Galindez de Carvajal was a member of the king's council; Dr. Beltran, a lawyer of the court. The bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo was Gonsalvo Maldonado.

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IV. Grant by the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, April 28, 1522, reissued August 27, 1527,[13] (and King to Audiencia, September 23, 1519).

titulo del yngenio del thesorero de passamonte.

En la ciudad de Santo domingo de la ysla española de las yndias del mar oceano veynte e syete dias del mes de Agosto de myll y quinyentos y veynte y syete años ante los muy nobles señores licenciados Cristobal lebron e alonso caraso oydores de la audiencia rreal de su magestad que en estas partes reside y en presencia de my diego Cavallero escribano de la dicha Real audiencia parescio presente estevan de passamonte thesorero general de Su magestad en esta dicha ysla e presento una peticion e una escritura e provision de los oydores y oficiales de su magestad desta ysla de cierta concesion que al dicho thesorero paresce averle sydo hecha de cierta agua para un yngenio de Açucar en la Ribera de nygua[14] firmada de ciertos nombres de los dichos señores oydores y oficiales segun por ella parescio, el thenor de la qual dicha peticeon e provisyon es esta que se sigue:

muy poderosos señores, el thesorero estevan de passamonte dize que sus oydores y oficiales por cierta comision que de vuestra magestad tiene le hizieron cierta confirmacion e nueva concesion de un agua donde el edefica un yngenio de Açucar en nygua como paresce por esta provisyon de que haze presentacion—la qual esta algo mal tratada y en parte comida de cucarachas—suplica que la manden ver e le manden dar uno o dos traslados auturizados para guarda y conservacion de su derecho para lo qual ynplora su Real oficio, etc.

Nos los oydores del audiencia y chancillerya del enperador y Reyna su madre nuestros señores que Residimos en estas yslas e tierra firme del mar oceano y los oficiales de sus magestades que Resydimos en esta ysla española, Repartidores y señaladores de las aguas y tierras para hazer yngenios de Açucar en esta ysla española, por especial poder y comision que para ello tenemos de sus magestades firmado de su Real nombre A nos dirigido, el qual nos fue presentado en cartoze dias del mes de setienbre del año passado de myll e quinientos e veynte años e fue pregonado e publicado en esta dicha cibdad en domyngo veynte e tres dias del dicho mes e del dicho año, el qual por nos fue obedescido con el Acatamyento e Reverencia devido e por consyguyente Acatado su tenor del qual es este que se sigue:

Don Carlos por la graçia de dios etc. Rey de Romanos f. emperador senper augusto, doña juana su madre y el mysmo don Carlos por la mysma gracia Reyes de castilla de leon de aragon de las dos çiçilias de hierusalem [de] navarra de granada de toledo de Valencia de galizia de mallorcas de Sevilla de cerdeña de Cordova de corcega de murcia de Jaen de los algarves de Algezira de gibraltar de las yslas de Canaria e de las yndias yslas e tierra firme del mar oceano, archiduques de austria, duques de borgoña e de brabante, condes de barcelona flandes e tirol, señores de viscaya e de molina, duques de Atenas y de neopatria, condes de Ruysellon e de cerdenia, marques de oristan e de gociano, etc. A bos

[13] A. G. I., est. 53, caj. 6, leg. 8: Audiencia de Sto. Domingo, Simancas, Secular, Cartas y espedientes remitidos por los oficiales Reales de la isla española, vistos en el Consejo, Años 1526 á 1639.

[14] A small river a dozen miles west of the city of Santo Domingo, on which the first water-mills for sugar-grinding are said to have been built.

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los nuestros Juezes de Apelacion del audiencia e jusgado questa a Resyde en la ysla espanola e nuestros oficiales della, Xrisptoval de tapia[15] nuestro beedor de las fundiciones de la dicha ysla, Salud e gracia. bien sabedes como A plazido A nuestro señor que en esa ysla española se An fecho e cada dia se hazen yngenyos de açucar lo qual se A dado e de tanbyen que con su Ayuda se espera que en brebe tiempo que se abra fecho e fara en mucha cantidad, E porque A Causa desto entre los vezinos e pobladores de la dicha isla que haran los tales edeficios podrian nascer pleytos e diferencias e debates sobre la particion de los sytios tierras y agua que para los tales yngenios es menester, queriendo tomar mas de lo que les converna, e por los Atajar e quitar de los pleytos y gastos que sobre esto se les podria seguir e por que en el por termyno dello Aya el buen Recabdo que conviene e A nadie se de mas tierra ni agua de la que ovyere menester para ello y todo este en ygualdad e nynguno Resciba Agravio, confiando de bosotros que en todo lo que por nos vos fuere encomendado entendereys con Aquel quidado fidilidad e diligencia que A nuestro servicio cunpla y que esto hareys con toda ygualdad e Retitud, visto, en el nuestro consejo de las yndias fue acordado que vos lo deviamos mandar encomendar y por la Presente vos lo encomendamos y cometemos e que sobrello deviamos mandar dar esta nuestra carta en la dicha Razon por la qual vos mandamos que por el tiempo que nuestra merced e Voluntad fuere vosotros tengays cargo de Repartir e Repartays las tierras e Aguas que en la dicha ysla se ovyeren de Repartir para los dichos yngenios guardando en ello la horden syguyente. primeramente vos mandamos que cada e quando Algund vezino de la dicha ysla quisiere hazer Algun yngenio de açucar en ella vosotros los nuestros juezes y oficiales nonbreys e diputeys entre vosotros un juez y oficial, los quales juntamente con vos el dicho Xrisptoval de tapia deys señaleys e Repartays A los vezinos y personas que Asy quisieren hazer e hedificar los dichos yngenios las tierras e Aguas que para ellos ovyeren menester, dando A cada uno aquello que vos paresciere que justamente le basta para el edeficio que quisiere hazer e no mas, por que quede lugar y Aparejo para las otras personas que quisieren hazerlos semejantes hedificios, que para ello vos damos poder complido por esta nuestra carta con todas sus yncidencias y dependencias Anexidades y conexidades, y mandamos e defendemos que de Aqui Adelante nynguna ny Algunas personas puedan tomar tierras ni Aguas para hazer los hichos Yngenios Salvo los que por el dicho nuestro juez de apelacion e oficial que entre nosotros fuere disputado e el dicho nuestro veedor Juntamente fueren señaladas como dicho es, pero por que podria ser que Algunos de vosotros los dichos juez de Apelacion e oficial e veedor querreys hazer y hedificar Algun yngenio o otra cosa Alguna tocante A esto, mandamos que qualquyer de vosotros que Asy lo quisiere hazer no pueda señalarse para si las Aguas ny tierras para los dichos yngenios ny cosa Alguna dello, salvo los otros dos solamente, y mando que se tome la Razon desta nuestra carta por los nuestros oficiales que Resyden en la Cibdad de Sevilla en la casa de la contratacion de las yndias. dada en barcelona a veynte y tres dias del mes de Setienbre de myll e quinyentos e diez e nueve años. YO EL REY. yo francisco de los Cobos secretario de su cesaria [e] Catolicas magestades la fize escrevir por su mandado m.s. Don Garcia fonseca Archi-

[15] The same who two years later, in 1521, was sent to Mexico by Cardinal Adrian and Fonseca to supersede and arrest Cortés.

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piscopus Episcopus[16] Pedro episcopo paciencis han [*word illegible,* señalado(?)]. don garcia. licenciado çapata. Registrada, Juan de Samano. Asentose esta provisyon original de su magestad en los libros de la casa de la contratacion de las yndias A veynte de noviembre de myll e quinyentos e diez e nueve años. el dottor matienço.[17] juan lopes de Recalde.

hazemos saber a vos los governadores consejos justicia Regidores Cavalleros escuderos oficiales y omes buenos Asy desta cibdad de Santo domingo Como desta ysla española que Aora soys e por tiempo fueredes de Aqui Adelante, que Ante nos paresçio esteban de Passamonte vezino desta dicha cibdad e presento una peticion en que dixo que el obo y compro e tenia e poseya, con justo titulo y compra, un Agua en la Ribera de nygua para haçer un yngenio de Açucar el qual estava edificado e para sacar la dicha Agua Alferido avia fecho e hacya una pressa, como hera notorio, en que avia gastado mucha cantidad de pesos de oro, E por que se temya que Alguna persona despues de sacada la dicha Agua para se Aprobechar della, hechos los dichos gastos, por le molestar syn causa se pusyese enpedir la dicha Agua o Alguna demasya della, e por que, como hera publico e se veya, la dicha Agua estaba en parte que no se podia nadie Aprobechar della sy no el A mayor Abundamyento syn perjuizio de su derecho, e para mayor firmeza, nos pidio le hiziesemos merced de le confirmar la dicha Agua que Asy tenia pues hera syn perjuizio de tercero e sy necesariò hera se la disemos de nuevo, por virtud del poder que de su magestad para ello tenyamos, segun que mas largamente en la dicha peticion que ante nos dio e pedimiento que sobrello hizo se contiene. por ende nos por virtud del dicho poder e comysyon de sus magestades de suso encorporado A nos dirigido, usando del conforme A lo que por su magestad esta mandado, confirmamos a vos el dicho estevan de Passamonte la dicha Agua que asy teneys en la dicha Ribera de nygua, do Al presente hazeys un yngenio para moler Açucar, e sy necesaryo es os damos concedemos señalamos y Repartimos de nuevo la dicha Agua que Asy teneys e labrays para que de la dicha Agua os podays Aprobechar, para hazer el dicho yngenio de moler Açucar e para todos los otros Aprobechamyentos e Remedios Al dicho yngenio que Asy hazeys nescesaryos e pertenescientes, E por la presente os damos licencia para que podays tomar la dicha Agua en la parte que mejor os paresciere e Sacalla e llevalla Al lugar do mejor dispusycion obiere por herido con la qual dicha Agua que Asy teneys e poseeys podays hazer e hagays el dicho yngenio de Açucar como dicho es, e la Ayays e tengais para vos perpetuamente para syenpre jamas con mas toda la demasya, que en la dicha Agua oviere de la que es menester para hazer el dicho yngenio, de que Asy mysmo os hazemos merced en Reconpensa de los muchos gastos e costas que Abeys fecho e hazeys en la presa e hedificio e labor del dicho yngenio por os Animar A lo acabar, syn que tengais pensamyento que otro A de gozar de vuestro trabajo e gastos e costas que teneis fechos e hazeis, E por esta presente carta Aprobamos e avemos por firma la dicha concesion e todo lo demas de

[16] Since June 20 of this year, 1519, Juan Ruiz de Fonseca, bishop of Burgos (Garcia must be a scribe's error), had been also archbishop of Rossano in Italy. "Pedro episcopo paciensis" is Pedro de la Mota, bishop of Badajoz.

[17] Dr. Sancho de Matienzo, canon of the cathedral of Seville, had been treasurer and presiding member of the Casa de Contratación since its foundation in 1503 (d. 1522).

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suso contenido, no enbargante que por nos ni por las otras personas la dicha Agua Al presente no se Aya medido ny mida, por quanto A nosotros todos los dichos oydores y oficiales nos es notoria e la Avemos visto por vista de ojos muchas vezes e por Razon de lo ariba contenydo, e por que los edificios e granjerias desta ysla especialmente como el que vos, el dicho estevan de passamonte, hazeys sean acrescentados e aumentados e dios nuestro señor sea loado e sus magestades servidas, os hazemos la dicha confirmacion e nueva concesyon de la dicha Agua con la dicha demasya por quel dicho sytio no este syn labrar e Edeficar para que lo Ayays para vos perpetuamente como dicho es syn enbargo ni contrario alguno syn perjuicio de tercero poseedor. en testimonio de lo qual mandamos dar esta nuestra provisyon firmada de nuestros nombres e de nuestro secretario ynfraescrito, ques fecha en santo domingo A beynte e ocho dias del mes de abril año del señor de myll e quinyentos e veynte e dos años. el licenciado Xrisptoval lebron. passamonte. Alonso davila. E yo pedro de ledesma, escribano de camara de su magestad, lo fize escrivir por mandado de los dichos señores.

E asy presentada, los dichos señores oydores, vista la dicha provisyon e titulo de concesyon de la dicha Agua, dixeron que mandavan e mandaron que se saquen della un traslado o dos o mas quantos el dicho thesorero quisiere e se le den en publica forma, en manera que hagan fee, para guarda y conservacion de su derecho, en los quales traslados sy nescesario es ynterponian e ynterpusieron su auturidad e decreto judicial para que valan, e hagan fee, en juicio e fuera del, bien asy como si la dicha provisyon original paresciese pues paresce no estar chancelada ny en parte alguna sospechosa. E yo el dicho escribano de pedimiento del dicho thesorero e de mandamyento de los dichos señores oydores le di lo suso dicho segun que ante my passo, que fue fecho el dicho dia mes e año suso dichos. testigos que fueron presentes Al ver sacar e corregir la dicha escriptura. fernando ortis escribano de su magestad e francisco perez. diego Cavallero escribano de su magestad. [*Rubric.*]

V. The King to the Audiencia, June 5, 1528.[18]

El Rey.

nuestro presidente e oydores de la nuestra audiencia e chancilleria Real de las Indias que Reside en la ysla española, pedro sanches de valtierra en nonbre del conçejo justicia Regidores de la çibdad de santo domingo desa ysla me hizo Relaçion que desde que la dicha çibdad se poblo el cabildo della ha tenido cargo de Repartir las tierras y solares e aguas y dar orden en las otras cosas de los terminos della, dandolo y Repartiendolo entre los vezinos y moradores de la dicha cibdad de manera que todos fuesen Aprovechados e gozasen de las dichas Aguas y tierras e solares e terminos, y que en esta posesion ha estado y esta el cabildo de la dicha cibdad y por nos fue confirmado por una nuestra provision todo lo dado y Repartido por el dicho cabildo y fue mandado que dende en adelante despues de la dicha confirmacion las aguas y tierras para yngenios las diesedes y Repartiesedes vosotros en nuestro nonbre en cierta forma qontenida en la provision que dello mandamos

[18] A. G. I., est. 139, caj. 1, leg. 7: Indiferente General, Registros, Libros generalisimos de Reales órdenes, nombramientos, Gracias, etc., Años 1526 á 1528. Marginal note: "la çibdad de santo domingo de la española."

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dar, de que la dicha çibdad e ysla Resçiben mucho agravio y dapño por que Acaesçe que desde esa çibdad donde vosotros Residis A donde se hazen los dichos Repartimientos Ay veynte treynta quarenta e çien leguas, e no lo podeys ver por vuestras personas como se Requiere para que se haga justamente y con toda ygualdad, ni podeys tener entera Relaçion e ynformacion de las dichas tierras, y en el dicho nonbre nos suplico e pidio por merced hiziese merçed A la dicha çibdad e ysla que los Cabildos della y de los otros pueblos pudiesen Repartir y señalar las tierras y solares aguas y pastos y prados y abrevaderes y otras cosas como hasta Aqui lo an fecho, por que haziendose desta manera seria en servicio nuestro e bien de la Republica y particulares della y con menos costa y trabajo o como la nuestra merçed fuese. por ende yo vos mando que quando se acaesciere nesçesidad de hazer algund Repartimiento de las dichas tierras e Aguas en los lugares donde vosotros no pudierdes hallaros presentes conforme A la dicha provision, nonbreys una persona de confiança como a vosotros paresçiere para que con toda Rettittud e ygualdad guardando el thenor de la dicha provision haga el Repartimiento de las dichas tierras y solares prados y pastos y Aguas y abrevaderos desta dicha ysla, que por la presente lo avemos por bien fecho y Repartido lo que la dicha persona por vosotros nonbrada hiziere e Repartiere en la manera que dicha es. fecha en monçon[19] A çinco dias de junio de mill e quinientos e veynte y ocho años. YO EL REY. por mandado de su magestad. francisco de covos. señalada de los suso dichos.

VI. ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE AUDIENCIA, APRIL 23, 1530 (AND QUEEN TO PRESIDENT, APRIL 21, 1529).[20]

Sobrel repartimiento de las tierras y aguas de la ysla española.

Nos Don sebastian Ramirez obispo de los obispados de santo domingo y de la conçebiçion[21] del consejo de sus magestades y presidente desta su audiençia Real que Reside en la ysla española de las yndias del mar oceano, dezimos que por quanto su magestad nos mando por una su çedula firmada de su Real nombre que entendiesemos en lo tocante al Repartir los solares y tierras y aguas para engenios su tenor de la qual es esta que se sygue.

La Reyna.

nuestro presidente de la nuestra audençia e chançilleria Real de las yndias que Rezide en la ysla española, por parte de las çibdades e villas e lugares desa dicha ysla me a sido suplicado mandase dar licencia a los qoncejos dellas para que pudiesen Repartir las aguas e tierras e solares desa ysla a los que fuesen a poblar a ella por el ynconviniente y dilaçion que de yr a Repartillas un oydor desa audençia y un oficial desa ysla se syguia como hasta aqui se a hecho e hasta Agora avemos mandado proveer en ello cosa alguna, por lo qual dis que dexan muchos vezinos de yr a poblar y agora me an tornado A suplicar lo mandase asy proveer, o como la mi merçed fuese, e por que yo quiero ser ynformada de lo que çerca desto converna proveer yo vos mando que luego veades lo suso

[19] Monzón in the province of Huesca, in Aragon.

[20] A. G. I., 1–1–1/18: Simancas, Islas, Descubrimientos y poblaciones de varias islas en provincias de Indias, Años 1519 á 1607.

[21] In 1530 Santo Domingo and Concepción de la Vega were one diocese. Sebastian Ramirez was bishop from 1528 to 1538.

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dicho e vos ynformedes e sepays como e de que manera lo suso dicho A pasado y pasa y de lo que converna proveer çerca dello, y la dicha ynformaçion avida y la verdad sabida nos enbiareys con vuestro parecer para que visto mandemos proveer lo que convenga y entre tanto vos mando que vos proveays çerca dello lo que os pareçiere, que para ello sy neçesario es vos doy poder conplido. fecha en toledo a veynte e un dia de abril de mill e quinientos e veynte e nueve años. YO EL REYNA. por mandado de su magestad. Juan de samano.

y obedeçida la dicha çedula de su magestad de suso encorporada mandamos que entre tanto que su magestad provea lo que sea su servicio se guarde y Cumpla la horden siguiente, que las petiçiones que de aqui adelante se dieren en que se pidieren solares y tierras se presenten en el cabildo y Regimiento desta çibdad y Reçebidas se platique sobre lo en ellas contenido lo que convenga proveerse, e lo que les pareçiere en el dicho cabildo se nos haga saber con dos Regidores diputados para ello, los quales nos hagan Relaçion de lo que pareciere al dicho Cabildo, para que por nos bisto juntamente con los dichos diputados se provea lo que convenga y proveydo por nos se despache y vaya firmado de nos e de los dichos diputados en presençia del escrivano de qoncejo, para quel lo asiente en el libro del Cabildo desta çibdad.

Asi mismo mandamos que en el Repartir de las aguas y tierras para yngenios se tenga la orden syguiente, que todos los que pidieren sytios aguas y tierras para yngenios presenten las petiçiones y pedimientos dellos Ante nos, las quales se Remitiran al Cabildo desta cibdad para que vean los dichos pedimientos e petiçiones y platiquen çerca de lo en ellas contenido, y por uno o dos Regidores que para ello deputaren nos hagan Relaçion de lo que al dicho Cabildo pareçiere çerca dello y de las Razones y Cabsas que para el dicho pareçer tuvieren, para que por nos visto en nonbre de su magestad y por virtud de la dicha provision proveamos çerca dello lo que convenga, la qual dicha orden se tenga hasta tanto que su magestad provea y mande en ello lo que mas fuere su servicio como dicho es. fecho a veynte y tres de abril de mill y quinientos y treynta años.

Episcopus sancimus.
Por mandado de su Señoria Reverendisima.
Martin de Landa.[22] [*Rubric.*]

[*Endorsed*:] Vista. que enbie Relacion de lo que por virtud desto se hoviere fecho y que no usen desto sin confirmaçion.

VII. The King to the Governor of Española, July 19, 1520.[23]

El Rey.

don diego colon nuestro Almirante visorrey e governador de la isla española e de las otras islas descubiertas por el amirante vuestro padre o vuestro Allcalde mayor en la dicha isla española.[24] El liçençiado antonio

[22] An imperial notary.

[23] A. G. I., 139–1–6; Registros, libros generalísimos de Reales Ordenes, nombramientos, gracias, etc., Años 1518 á 1526. Marginal note: "la çibdad de santo domingo. al almirante que aya ynformacion si sera bien que aya en la dicha çibdad un peso para la granjeria de los açucares y la enbie çerrada y sellada con la parte de la dicha çibdad."

[24] Diego Columbus had returned to Spain from his active governorship of Santo Domingo in 1514, but was nominally viceroy till his death in 1528.

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serrano en nonbre de la çibdad de sancto domingo de la dicha isla me hizo rrelacion que por aver venido la granjeria de los Açucares conviene que aya un peso general donde todo se pesse E queste este en la dicha çibdad de santo domingo, suplicandome lo mandase proveer Asy e que lo que rrentase el dicho peso fuese para propios de la dicha çibdad o como la nuestra merced fuese, E por que yo quiero ser informado dello vos mando que luego questa veays hagais informaçion si ay nesçesidad que se haga e ponga el dicho peso general e si sera util e provechoso queste en la dicha çibdad de santo domingo, E si vernia dello perjuizio a la dicha isla E vecinos della, E siendo para propios de la dicha çibdad lo quel dicho peso Rentase que se podria cargar de derecho por cada quintal o Arroba de Açucar que en el pesase, E de todo lo demas que vos vierdes que conviene, para yo ser mejor informado, çerrado e sellado e firmado de vuestro nonbre E del escrivano Ante quien pasaren la dad e entregad, la parte de la dicha çibdad, para que la enbien Ante mi para que yo la mande ver E proveer en ello lo que viere que conviene E no fagades ende al. fecha en valladolid a 19 de jullio de MDXX años. El cardenal dertusense.[25] señalada de los dichos (obispo de burgos e çapata) y Refrendada (de pedro de los covos.)

VIII. The King to the Treasurer-General of Española [July 19, 1520].[26]

El Rey.

miguel de pasamonte nuestro tesorero general de la isla española.[27] ya sabeis como A plazido a nuestro señor que la granjeria del Açucar desa de la dicha isla vaya en Acresçentamiento e Abundançia de que se espera Redundara a esa isla e vezinos e pobladores della mucha utilidad e noblesçimiento, E el liçençiado antonio serrano en nonbre della me hizo rrelaçion que a causa de ser muy costoso El edifiçio de los dichos *ingenios e lo que se Requiere para los sostener e la poca posibilidad* que los vecinos desa isla tienen para ello la dicha granjeria no podria pasar adelante ni permanesçer si nos no mandasemos prestar a algunas personas Alguna cantidad de maravedises, los quales nos los pagasen dentro de dos años, dando para ello buenas fiançaS E seguridad, Suplicandome lo mandase asi proveer, o como la mi merçed fuese, E por que yo tengo mucha voluntad que los vecinos e pobladores desa ysla Reçiban merçed en todo lo que obiere logar e que en esto por ser cosa tan nesçesaria . . . (*Hay un claro.*) ayudados tovelo por bien, por ende vos mando que vos ynformeys que personas ay en esa ysla que tengan maña o comienço para hazer ingenios de Açucar E que no tengan posibilidad para si solos hazer un ingenio e que sean personas honrradas qual a vos os paresçiere, E a los que desta calidad oviere Repartildes emprestado de qualquier oro e maravedises nuestros questen a vuestro cargo hasta seys mill pesos de oro a cada uno segund la nesçesidad que se toviere para acabar o hazer

[25] The cardinal bishop of Tortosa was Adrian of Utrecht, afterward Pope Adrian VI.

[26] Same reference as preceding, and, it is to be presumed, same date. Marginal note: "la ysla española. al thesorero pasamonte que preste a los vecinos de la dicha ysla en cada un año seys M pesos de oro a los que mas lo ovieren menester para hazer sus yngenios de açucar."

[27] Father of Estevan.

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el dicho ingenio, tomando primeramente de las tales personas E de cada una dellas fiançes bastantes llanas e Abonadas que lo que asy les dierdes e emprestardes lo gastaran E destribuyran en los dichos ingenios e no en otra cosa Alguna e que dentro de dos años primeros siguientes nos pagaran la cantidad que Asi ovierdes prestado A cada uno por manera que Aquello este seguro e çierto.

IX. The King to the Oficiales Reales of Española, July 9, 1520.[28]

El Rey.

nuestros oficiales que rresidis en la isla española e los nuestros almoxarifes e rrecabdadores de las nuestras rrentas del almoxarifadgo de la dicha isla. ya sabeis la voluntad que la catolica rreina mi señora e yo Avemos thenido e tenemos al bien poblaçion e multiplicaçion de la dicha isla E los Remedios que para ello se an buscado E procurado E soi informado que uno de los mas prinçipales es la granjeria que en ella se ha començado a hazer e haze de los ingenios de Açucar los quales A dios graçias van en mucha abundançia, E el liçençiado Antonio serrano en nonbre desa dicha isla me hizo rrelaçion que A causa de ser tan costoso El hedifiçio de los dichos ingenios e los materiales e ferramientas para ellos nesçesarios que se llevan destos rreinos e los vecinos de la dicha isla no tener posibilidad para los sostener seria causa que la dicha granjeria no pasase Adelante, Suplicandome mandase que las herramientas materiales e otras cosas que destos rreinos levasen para el hedifiçio e lavor de los dichos ingenios no se les pidiese ni llevase derechos de almoxarifasgo ni otros algunos, o como la mi merçed fuese, E yo por las dichas causas tovelo por bien, por ende yo vos mando que cunplido el tienpo del Arrendamiento que al presente esta hecho de las rrentas E almoxarifadgo desa dicha isla, de ay en Adelante, quanto mi merced e voluntad fuere, no pidays ni demandeys ni consintays que se pida ni demande a los vecinos e moradores desa dicha isla derechos ni otra cosa alguna de los materiales e ferramientas que llevaren para hazer e hedificar E sostener los dichos ingenios de Açucar, porque mi voluntad es que lo puedan llavar libremente sin que dello paguen cosa alguna, E asi mesmo que lo pongays por condiçion en el primer arrendamiento que de las dichas Rentas para adelante se oviere de hazer e no hagades ende al, E mando que se tome la Razon desta por los nuestros ofiçiales que Resyden en la çibdad de sevilla en la casa de la contrataçion de las indias.[29] fecha en valladolid A IX de jullio de MDXX años. Cardenal dertusense. Refrendada de pedro de los covos. señalada del obispo de burgos e çapata.

[28] A. G. I., 139–1–6: Registros, libros generalísimos de Reales Ordenes, nombramientos, gracias, etc., Años 1518 á 1526. Marginal note: "la ysla española. para que de las erramientas que se llevaren destos Reynos para hazer yngenios de açucar no se lleven derechos de almoxarifadgo."

[29] Our text comes from the records of the Casa. Puente y Olea (p. 404) quotes it in part.

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X. Juan de Vadillo to the King, August 5, 1527.[30]

Sacra Cesarea Catolica magestad.

. . . despues que hize execuçion en los juezes y ofiçiales e rrequerido a los que tienen enprestidos de yngenios que paguen conforme a un capitulo de mi instruçion haze se les de mal amenazolos, y porque por otra parte veo que con la tormenta pasada tienen algun trabajo tomo lo que me dan por tener que ynbiar a vuestra magestad, y ansi lo are con todos bien se que yran de mi muchas quexas porque antes que les pidiese ni viniese a la isla las davan aora que les pido, es de creer que lo haran mejor y a esto ayudaran los ofiçiales por que estan muy corridos del previllegio que vuestra magestad les dio en la cedula de suspension, y querran que la pague yo por que le cunpli y quebrante la costunbre que tienen aca, suplico a vuestra magestad que pues mi intençion es de servir que no mande dar credito a quexas sino fuere cosa en que justamente me pueda ser ynputada culpa, la qual yo trabajare por escusar.

(Decreto:) que haze bien.

. . . —hago saber a vuestra magestad que quando el thesorero estevan de pasamonte me entrego las escrituras porque en los enprestidos de los yngenios avia avido tres diferençias de enprestidos, una por un capitulo de la instrution de figueroa[31] y otra por cedula de vuestra magestad y otra por consulta de los juezes y ofiçiales en la consulta dieron dos las quales no quise Reçebir, porque me pareçio que no avian tenido facultad para las dar, asi mismo no tome las deudas que se an hecho despues de pedro de ysasaga aca fuera las de los yngenios y las de los ofiçiales, por que estas no se cobraran de otra manera, y esto hize por dos cosas, la una porque en las de antes de las consultas ay tanta confusion que con mucho trabajo me podre en ellas dar recaudo, la otra porque las que son despues de la consulta de pedro de ysasaga son del cargo del thesorero esteban de pasamonte, y pues lléba salario de vuestra magestad por thesorero no es justo que dexe de entender en la cobrança dellas, por que mejor e mas breve se hara la cobrança entendiendo el por vuestra parte e yo por otra que uno solo, y porque las deudas que a el le quedan son de poca cantidad y las pueda cobrar muy bien salvo una que no le reçebi de un gonçalo de guzman que es una muy buena persona y buen poblador, y podieran muy bien aver cobrado del y no lo an hecho y aora no tiene de que pagar por culpa del thesorero que no lo quiso cobrar, y porque no pareçiese la culpa que en ello avia tenido porque la deuda era vieja dyeronle carta de pago della y hizieron que confesase que avian reçibido lo que antes devia nuevamente por enprestido para yngenio, lo qual fue fingido por que a la sazon que hizo la obligaçion ninguna facultad tenia para hazer yngenio, y estando reçybiendo las escrituras fui por el veedor hastudillo

(Decreto:) que cobren las debdas y le haga cargo de la averiguaçion y que no execute y que lo que lo mandaron muestre para que.

(Decreto:) que es preciso se haga justicia.

[30] A. G. I., 2–1–3/22: Simancas, Santo Domingo, Gobierno; Son cartas antiguas escritas á Su Magestad sobre el buen gobierno de la Isla Española, Años 1513–1586.

[31] Rodrigo de Figueroa had been sent out in 1520 to take the *residencia* of the officials of the island; see nos. XII. and XIII., below.

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dello informado, y no la reçebi, a cuya causa por que me informe dello el thesorero esteban de pasamonte le quiso desafiar, y porque astudillo no dixese otras cosas trabajo porque mandase que no estubiese a las dichas consultas, lo qual yo no hize, mas antes le puse pena questuviese a ellas, y no le e dexado ir a castilla porque no conviene al bien de las consultas ni hazienda de vuestra magestad.

a avido muy mala orden en el dar de los enprestidos ni se an dado como vuestra magestad lo mando por su cedula ni con aquella seguridad, mas davanse a los ofiçiales y juezes y amigos del thesorero y los unos fiavan a los otros por manera que cada uno era prinçipal deudor y fiador y no quedava seguridad con la fiança mas que sin ella, y a algunos los dieron que nunca hizieron ingenios ni les pidieron que los hiziesen ni las deudas unque eran los plazos pasados y tanpoco avido orden en la cobrança despues, porque hazen execution y hecha dexan los bienes en los deudores y dexanlo asi dos y tres años y aun seis y siete que no curan mas dello. . . .

(Dec°) que haga justicia cobrandola hasy del Rey de que hallare maldada.

desta ciudad de santo domingo a V de agosto de 1527.

[*Endorsed*:] El licenciado juan de vadillo. [*Rubric*.]

XI. The King to the Audiencia, November 8, 1538, (and January 15, 1529).[32]

Don carlos etc. a bos el presidente e oydores de la nuestra abdiencia y chancilleria Real de la ysla española e otras qualesquier nuestras justicias della a quien esta nuestra carta fuere mostrada Salud e gracia. sepades que nos mandamos dar e dimos una nuestra carta e provision Real firmada de mi el Rey e sellada con nuestro sello e librada de los del nuestro consejo de las yndias, su tenor de la qual es este que se sigue.

Don carlos por la divina clemencia Emperador semper augusto etc. por quanto a nos es hecha Relacion que algunas personas que tienen yngenios de açucar en la ysla española o parte dellos deben debdas a otras personas o conçejos y a causa de no poder pagar a los plazos que son obligados les haze execucion en los dichos yngenios y en los negros y otras cosas neçesarias para el abiamiento y molienda dellos, y por qualquier cosa que desto falta dexan de moler los dichos yngenios y se pierde la granjeria dellos, siendo tan grande y principal y con que se sustenta la dicha ysla y bezinos della, y los dichos dueños de los yngenios quedan perdidos y sus acreedores no son pagados y nuestras Rentas vienen en diminucion, y nos fue suplicado y pedido por merçed mandasemos que agora y de aqui adelante por ninguna debda de ninguna calidad que fuese no se debiendo a nos no se pudiese hazer ni hiziese execuçion en los dichos yngenios ni en los negros ni en otras cosas neçesarias al abiamiento y molienda dellos, e quando se hoviese de hazer fuese en el açucar e frutos de los dichos yngenios por que sosteniendose los dichos yngenios se sostienen los dueños dellos y los acreedores son

[32] A. G. I., 78–2–1: Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Registros de oficio, Reales Ordenes dirigidas a las autoridades del distrito de la audiencia, Años 1536 á 1605. Marginal note: "hernan vazquez y sus qontadores. de la manera que se ha de hazer execucion en los yngenios."

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pagados, o como la nuestra merçed fuese, lo qual visto por los del nuestro consejo de las yndias y comigo el Rey consultado, fue acordado que deviamos mandar dar esta nuestra carta en la dicha Razon e nos tovimoslo por bien, por la qual mandamos que agora y de aqui adelante quanto nuestra voluntad fuere por ningunas debdas de ninguna calidad y cantidad que sean desde el dia questa nuestra carta fuere pregonada en la dicha ysla española y lugares della y dende en adelante no se pueda hazer ni haga execuçion en los dichos yngenios ni en los negros y otras cosas necesarias al abiamiento y molienda dellos, no seyendo las tales debdas nuestras como dicho es, y que las dichas execuçiones se puedan hazer en los açucares y frutos de los dichos yngenios, lo qual mandamos que se entienda de las debdas que se hizieren despues que como dicho es esta fuere pregonada, e los unos ni los otros no fagades ni fagan ende al por alguna manera, so pena de la nuestra merçed y de diez mill marevedises para la nuestra Camara a cada uno que lo contrario hiziere. dada en toledo a quinze dias del mes de henero año del nascimiento de nuestro ihesuxrispto de mill e quinientos e veynte e nuebe años. YO EL REY. yo francisco de los cobos secretario de sus cesarea y Catholicas magestades la fize escrebir por su mandado. frater garcia episcopus oxom.[33] el doctor beltran. el liçenciado montoya. Refrendada Joan de samano horbina por chanciller.

e agora hernan vazquez e agostin de bibaldo e domingo de forne me han hecho Relacion que a ellos y a sus fatores en su nonbre se les deben en esa ysla muchas contias de maravedises de diez y doze y quinze años a esta parte, de lo proçedido de ciertos esclabos que en esa dicha ysla se vendieron de la liçencia que ellos hovieron del governador de bresa, e que despues que se les deben las dichas debdas o la mayor parte dellas se le han dado a los debdores muchas largas y dilaciones y esperas, e que agora no enbargante que valian de forne que esta por ellos en esa ysla para la dicha cobrança ha dado a executar a los que deben las dichas debdas diz que vosotros no consentis llevar a devida execucion las obligaçiones, dando plazos largos e ultramarinos a los dichos debdores, y diziendo que por la dicha nuestra carta suso encorporada esta mandado que no se haga execuçion alguna en yngenios ni negros ni otras cosas neçesarias al abiamiento y molienda dellos, de que ellos Reçiben mucho agrabio y daño por que no se haziendo la dicha execuçion en los dichos yngenios ellos no podrian ser pagados de lo que ansi les es debido, e nos suplicaron vos mandasemos que sin enbargo de la dicha provision executasedes en los yngenios que toviesen sus debdores por las cantidades que les debiesen sin que en ello pusiesedes ynpedimiento alguno, o como la nuestra merçed fuese, lo qual visto por los del nuestro qonsejo de las yndias por quanto al tienpo que mandamos dar la dicha nuestra Carta suso yncorporada nuestra yntençion e boluntad fue que porque los yngenios desa dicha ysla se conserbasen e sostuviesen enteramente sin que se partiesen y desabiasen ni se desemembrase cosa alguna dellos que por las debdas que despues de la publicaçion della se oviesen contraydo no se hiziese execuçion en los dichos yngenios e como veys conforme a ella las dichas execuçiones se pueden y deben hazer de las debdas que se hizieron antes de la publicaçion de la dicha provision, fue acordado que debiamos mandar dar esta nuestra carta para vos en la dicha Razon e nos tovimoslo por bien, por que vos mandamos que guardando la dicha nuestra carta suso yncorporada por todas las debdas que se ovieren contraydo antes de

[33] Garcia de Loaysa, the emperor's confessor, bishop of Osma 1524–1532.

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la publicaçion della hagais execuçion en los frutos de los dichos yngenios y en los yngenios mesmos con todos sus negros y aparejos por manera que la persona en quien por la tal execucion hoviere de quedar el tal yngenio quede con todos los aparejos y adereços y cosas neçesarias al abiamiento del, sin se dividir ni apartar cosa alguna del dicho yngenio e no fagades ende al. dada en la cibdad de toledo a ocho de nobienbre de mill e quinientos y treynta e ocho años. YO EL REY. Refrendada de samano y firmada de beltran y bernal y belazquez.

XII. FIGUEROA TO THE KING, JULY 6, 1520.[34]

1520, 6 de Julio. muy alto y muy poderoso invitisimo enperador sienpre agusto principe Rey y Señor nuestro— . . Las granjerias de los ingenios de açucar y canafistolas se multiplica cada dia mucho. estan puesto por obra de se hazer quarenta ingenios y mas y los mas por obligaciones porque se les an dado indios y a otros enprestado dineros de vuestra magestad por tiempo de dos años. vuestra magestad debe enviar a mandar al tesorero pasamonte que sea liberal en dar lo que se manda enprestar, que esto es lo que ha de resucitar esta ysla y por consiguiente sostener estas partes todas, que con sostenerse bien esta sean de sostener y proveer todas que algunos mandones ay que les pesa, porque si dan orden de hacer tantos pensando que los que ellos an de hazer an de valer menos. . . .

criado y siervo de Vuestra cesarea catolica magestad que besa sus Reales manos e pies . . . El licenciado. . . .

FIGUEROA. . . . [*Rubric.*]

XIII. FIGUEROA TO THE KING, NOVEMBER 14, 1520.[35]

muy alto y muy poderoso invitisimo enperador sienpre agusto principe Rey y señor nuestro.

de la coruña me escrivio vuestra magestad una carta la qual yo Rescebi en que declara ser los yndios libres y que no se deven encomendar y manda que los que yo tenia puestos en poblaçion en pueblos para ver para quanto heran se esten y se multipliquen los pueblos y se pongan en ellos los que de aqui adelante vacaren poniendo con ellos clerigos que los administren e que se pregonasen ciertos capitulos de la dicha cedula [?], lo qual todo yo he enpeçado a poner en obra sobre lo que estava hecho y se pregono lo mandado por vuestra magestad y poco a poco como vaquen los yre poniendo en los pueblos que estavan hechos algunos de los quales se an consumido por la falta de la gente que ovo despues de las viruelas dexando los que estavan en mejores lugares los yndios an Rescibido favor aunque son torpes y creo que esto aprovechara algo para el peligro en que estavan de acabarse por que los que syrben por muchos visitadores y penas que aya Resçiben gran detrimento y por los defender y hazer penar a los que los maltratan syn duda estoy martir y mal quisto y los visytadores lo mesmo que no ay cosa en el mundo de tan gran trabajo segun lo que todos syenten yrles a la mano

[34] A. G. I., 2–1–3/22: Simancas, Santo Domingo, Gobierno; Son cartas antiguas escritas á Su Magestad sobre el buen gobierno de la Ysla Española, Años 1513 á 1586. Rodrigo de Figueroa was taking the *residencia* of the officials of the island.

[35] A. G. I., 2–1–3/22: Simancas, Santo Domingo, Gobierno; Son cartas antiguas a Su Magestad sobre el buen gobierno de la Isla Española, Años 1513 á 1586.

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y ver tornar por esta triste gente ellos syn duda por la mayor parte yncapaçes son como por los paresçeres que a vuestra magestad enbie se contenia aunque algunos ay que bien se les entiende lo que es para mal por su acabamiento sirbiendo esta presto muy çierto con esta maña que vuestra magestad manda creo harto se rremediara y con andar Rigurosa la bisitaçion en la qual hare quanto pueda la gente de la ysla lo a sentido mucho por que algunos estavan con esperança que quando algunos vacasen se los avian de dar con que se Remediasen y otros ansy mismo venian de castilla con esperança de lo mesmo. teme se apocara la gente española por dejar de venir y por se yr algunos de los que pierden la esperança de aver yndios y yo ansi lo creo aunque por otra parte los ingenios se van multiplicando pero no bastaran segund la grandeza de la ysla y la codiçia que tienen las gentes de yr a las tierras nuevamente descubiertas dizese que sy estos se Reformasen y se apocasen los xrisptianos se podrian alçar con la tierra en espeçial sy se juntasen con los negros pero esto al presente no se puede juzgar creese que seria gran Remedio venir el oro al diezmo como esta al quinto y que se apregonase en castilla mayormente en el andaluzia y estremadura y provinçia de leon por que algunos vernian y todos se aplicarian a buscar negros y quien les ayudase y se darian al trabajo y vuestra magestad seria en ello mas servido y seria Resuçitar la gente que anda muy desmayada asy por falta de gente como por la delgadeza de las minas que andan muy seguidas y es delgadisima la genançia que se saca dellas pagado el quinto y costa casy no les queda cosa syn duda no les queda otro quinto que yo lo he mucho pesquisado.

no aprovecha cossa del mundo notificar a los obispos ni sus provisores que den clerigos para los pueblos de los yndios sy vuestra magestad de otra manera no lo manda Remediar con mayordomos legos y con visytaçion de flayres se Remediara al presente.

En lo que vuestra magestad manda que platique y diga mi pareçer sy a personas prinçipales se encargaran estos pueblos con algund ynterese que dellos asy estan encomendados a otros sobre los mayordomos que son personas mas prinçipales que estan en los pueblos que syn ynterese lo hazen Reformandose mas los pueblos en gente y platicado en ello yo ascrevire a vuestra magestad lo que dello me paresçiere con paresçer de algunas personas que los desean aprovechar.

En Cayos ay que son gente venida de fuera desta ysla los quales estan por naburias y se suelen encomendar quando vaquen como los yndios de vuestra magestad sy fuere servido de declarar que se hara dellos quando vaquaren pues tanbien son libres como estotros y si seria bien ponerlos en los pueblos con los otros de la tierra que ya casy son unos o no queriendo estar alli darlos como a soldada a xrisptianos con un padre de huerfanos en cada pueblo como curador dellos que mirase por ellos y los aviniese y Recaudase lo que ganasen o lo que andando el tienpo mejor paresçiese entiendo esto en los que no paresçiesen capazes para por si bivir que casy todos son de una manera.

ya escrivi a vuestra magestad los terminos en que andavan los labradores que hera que todos cayeron malos y casy lo estan los mas. en un asyento de pueblo estan çinco leguas desta çibdad y creo que nunca an de faser cosa conçertada segund son para poco y se esfuerçan mal los que tienen salud este año a lovido desde mayo hasta agora y a habido ynfinitos enfermos y ellos an mucho desmayado en ver la manera del tenporal todo se les a dado como vuestra magestad mando cunplidamente.

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a los juezes de apelaçiones yo no les avia quitado los yndios hasta que se les tornasen sus ofiçios porque asy lo dezia mi ministerio y aun aora no se los he quitado porque su provisyon dezia que tornasen a usar hasta se ver su Resydençia syn les acresçentar mas salarios suplico a vuestra magestad sy fuere servido enbie a mandar lo que en ello haga.

los Açucares y cañafistolos se multiplican mucho. ay mas de quarenta yngenios de açucar de agua enpeçados a hazer con obligaçiones de fazer los unos por que Resçibieron dineros enprestados y otros yndios *muelen dellos tres y otros tres de cavallos.*

otras muchas cossas he antes de aora escripto a vuestra magestad que Requerian Respuesta. suplico a vuestra magestad las mande ver y Responder a lo que Requiere Respuesta. otras cossas dexo de escryvir por no duplicar lo que va en las cartas que escrevimos juezes y ofiçiales. nuestro señor la bida e inperial estado de vuestra magestad acresçiente y prospere a su seruiçio por largos tienpos. de santo domingo XIIII de novienbre de DXX.

de vuestra inperial magestad siervo y criado que sus inperiales manos y pies besa

El licençiado FIGUEROA. [*Rubric.*]

XIV. THE OFICIALES REALES OF ESPAÑOLA TO THE KING, AUGUST 20, 1520.[36]

al muy alto y muy poderoso señor el enperador y Rey de españa. muy alto e muy poderoso señor.

. . . otrosy dimos noticia a vuestra magestad que convenia a su Real servicio que con brevedad mandase que las naos que cargasen de açucar en esta ysla pudiesen yr a hazer su derecha descarga a los otros Reynos e señorios de vuestra alteza syn yr primero a sevilla, pues alli no terna la venta el açucar que en el condado de flandes y en otras partes de sus Reynos, por que si no se conçediese esta claro que todos los açucares se perderian o a lo menos que en fletes de llevarlo desta ysla a sevilla e de alli a las partes donde se a de vender se yra todo el valor dello y que si viesen que vuestra alteza no les concedia esta merced dexarian muchos de entender en la grangeria del dicho açucar a vuestra magestad suplicamos mande que asi se haga e con brevedad pues que esta grangeria plasiendo a nuestro señor a de ser de calidad de que vuestra alteza a de ser muy servido e sus Rentas muy acresentadas.

. . . otrosy que vuestra alteza nos de liçençia para que en esta ysla se pueda fundir y labrar cobre para los yngenios del açucar porque puesto que al presente se trayga de sus Reynos de castilla vemos por yspirençia que es menester en los yngenios cada mes Reparar e adobar e aun hazer de nuevo muchas cosas de cobre e sy oviesen de esperar de ynbiar por ello a castilla seria perder todo lo que en ello se a gastado y gastare y esto suplico a vuestra magestad nos conçeda con brevedad por que es cosa que conviene mucho. . . .

que puedan fundir cobre para solos los yngenios con que no se funda sy no en la casa de la fundicion y en presençia del veedor.

de santo domingo de la ysla española a veynte de agosto de mill e quinientos e veynte años.

[36] A. G. I., 2–1–3/22: Simancas, Santo Domingo, Gobierno; Son cartas antiguas escritas a Su Magestad sobre el buen gobierno de la Isla Española, Años 1513 á 1586.

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De Vuestra Cesarea e Catolica Real Magestad Humilisimos siervos que sus Reales pies y manos besan.

[*Endorsed*:] PASSAMONTE. ALINPIES. ALONSO DAVILA.

de los officiales de la española. Vista.

XV. THE KING TO LUIS HERNANDEZ DE ALFARO, SEPTEMBER 29, 1526.[37]

El Rey.

por quanto por parte de vos luys hernandes de alfaro mercader vecino de sevilla me fue hecha Relaçion que vos estays esperando una vuestra nao que viene de las yndias cargada de açucares y melaços para flandes y querriades que desde el puerto de santlucar syguiese su viaje syn subir A la çibdad de sevilla por el peligro y trabajo que se le seguiria, y me suplicastes e pidistes por merçed vos diese liçencia para ello sin se venir a Registrar a la dicha çibdad de sevilla, o como la mi merçed fuese, e yo tovelo por bien, por ende por la presente vos doy liçencia e facultad para que podays enbiar y enbieys la dicha vuestra nao cargada de las dichas açucares e melaços desde el dicho puerto de santlucar a flandes como viene de las yndias syn subir a la dicha çibdad de sevilla, con tanto que sea primeramente visitada por los nuestros oficiales que Residen en la dicha çibdad en la cassa de la contrataçion de las yndias o por la persona que ellos para ello nonbraren e diputaren, para que vean que no lleva oro de ninguna calidad ni perlas ni otra cossa de las proibidas e vedadas, y con que no las podais llevar ni enbarcar en la dicha nao so las penas contenidas en nuestras provisiones y hordenanças, mando a los dichos nuestros ofiçiales de sevilla e a otras qualesquier justiçias y personas a quien lo suso dicho tocare que asi lo guarden e cunplan e hagan guardar e conplir en todo e por todo segud e como en esta nuestra çedula se contiene e que contra el thenor e forma della vos no vayan ni pasen ni consientan yr ni passar en manera Alguna so pena de la nuestra merçed e de diez mill maravedises para la mi camara A cada uno que lo contrario hiziere. fecha en granada A veynte e nueve diass del mes de setienbre de mill e quinientos e veynte e seis Años. YO EL REY. Refrendada del secretario covos. señalada del obispo de osma y obispo de canaria y doctor beltran y obispo de çibdad Rodrigo.[38]

XVI. PETITION FROM ESPAÑOLA, 1527(?).[39]

En todos los reinos y partes donde ay mercaderias de una suerte en cantidad se prohibe y defiende que hasta que aquellas propias se vendan y sean gastadas no entren de fuera de aquella misma especie se veda esto para la conservacion de las labores y edificios y oficiales de las propias

[37] A. G. I., 139–1–7. 1: Indiferente General, Registros, Libros generalisimos de Reales órdenes, nombramientos, etc., Años 1526 á 1528. Marginal note: "luys hernandes de alfaro. licencia para que desde sanlucar vaya un navio suyo a flandes."

[38] The bishop of the Canary Islands was Luis Vaca; the bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo, Gonsalvo Maldonado.

[39] A. G. I., 53–6–6: Audiencia de Santo Domingo. No date; *cédula* replying, apparently, to this petition, is dated June 28, 1527 (A. G. I., 139–1–7, vol. 12, p. 148 r). Marginal note: "Lo que suplica la isla Espanola sobre que no entre azucar ni canafistola de fuera de los reinos de Espana. (Decreto: Lo acordado.)"

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tierras, y pues esto en las tierras que ya estan pobladas se haze usa y guarda generalmente para poblar de nuevo mucho mas requiere animar a los pobladores y hazer todos proveyimientos provechosos a la tal poblacion, y pues Dios ntr. sr. a sido servido que en esta isla y en las otras a ella comarcanas se de la granjeria del azucar y canafistola en gran cantidad que esperamos sera la principal parte para la poblacion y sustentacion dellas, y si esta tal granjeria no se obiera comenzado sin duda ya estuviera esta ysla espanola despoblada y es cierto mandando su magestad proveer las cosas que para favor dello se le suplican que son muy justas y necesarias, que de hoy en adelante con el azucar que en estas islas y las de canaria se haze abra tanto con el ayuda de nuestro Senor que basta para proveer a todos sus reinos y senorios y que sobre y para que en ello aya el despacho que conviene y por aver lo se reanimen a hazer los edificios para ello necesarios, pues son tan costosos y ellos hechos seran tan provechosos para la poblacion y perpetuidad de la tierra ay necesidad que su mag. provea y mande que no entren ni puedan entrar en todos sus reinos y senorios ningun azucar ni canafistola sino lo mismo que en los dichos reinos se hizieren y por sus subditos y naturales y desta manera habran muchos que queran gastar sus haciendas en los edificios del azucar en esta ysla y en las otras y se poblara la tierra y se aumentara el trato y sus reales rentas creceran y vendran de muchas partes a entender en el trato del dicho azucar y esta misma orden se tiene en el reino de portugal sobre el azucar que en sus tierras se haze y dello reciben mucho provecho. Suplicase a su mag. lo conceda pues es tan justo.[40]

XVII. The King to the Municipality of Santo Domingo, February 15, 1528.[41]

El Rey.

Conçejo justiçia Regidores de la çibdad de santo domingo de la ysla española. vi vuestras letras de quarto e de çinco de agosto del año pasado y holgue de ver la Relaçion tan larga y particular que hazeys de las cosas desa çibdad e ysla. . . .

quanto a lo que dezis que desde que esa çibdad se poblo el cabildo della ha thenido cargo de Repartir las tierras y aguas y solares y dar horden en las otras cosas de los terminos della de manera que todos fuesen Aprovechados y gozasen de las dichas tierras y agua y solares y que en esa posesion esta el Regimiento desa çibdad y lo haze y usa y por nos A seydo confirmado todo lo fecho y Repartido por el dicho cabildo, y que de poco tienpo A esta parte mandamos que de Aqui Adelante las Aguas y tierras para los yngenios las Repartiesen los nuestros oydores de la nuestra audiençia, de que los vezinos dessa ysla Resçiben mucho daño por la dificultad que Ay en hazerse el dicho Repartimiento por los dichos oydores A causa de no podello hazer por sus personas no lo pueden hazer tan bien como el Regimiento de cada çibdad villa o lugar, y ay otros ynconvinientes que dezis en vuestra carta y me suplicays haga

[40] Signed by royal officials, alcalde, etc., of Santo Domingo, some six in number; names undecipherable.

[41] A. G. I., 139–1–7: Indiferente General, Registros, Libros generalísimos de Reales órdenes, nombramientos, gracias, etc., Años 1526 á 1528. Marginal note: "Real provision a la cibdad de santo domingo."

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merçed a las çibdades villas e lugares desa ysla para quel cabildo de cada una dellas Repartade y señale las dichas tierras y agua y solares *como hasta Aqui se ha fecho, yo lo mandare brevemente ver y proveere* lo que mas convenga y el presidente llevara despacho dello. . . .

vi lo que suplicays y otras muchas vezes me aveys escripto que conviene mucho a nuestro servicio y acreçentamiento de nuestras Rentas e bien desas partes que yo mande dar liçençia para que de qualesquier puertos e lugares destos Reynos se puedan llevar a esas partes mercaderias y mantenimientos syn yr a se Registrar A sevilla, y que Asymismo convernia que los navios que desa ysla partiesen con açucares y coranbre y caña fistola y otras grangerias desas partes fuesen a qualesquier partes de nuestros Reynos, ya sobresta materia se vos A Respondido muchas vezes y creed que asy esto como todo lo demas que fuese medio para la poblaçion de esas partes y que los vezinos dellas Resçiban merçed y sean aprovechados, tengo voluntad que se despache, pero como es cosa tan nueva y de ynportancia aunque paresce que conviene que se haga Requiere deliberaçion, porque no se pueden proveer los ynconvinientes que dello podrian subçeder aunque muchas vezes sobrello se ha hablado, hagora he mandado que se torne a platicar y con toda brevedad se provea lo que paresçiere que mas conviene.

vi lo que dezis de la nesçesidad en que estan los vezinos desa ysla a causa de la tormenta pasada por el daño que hizo en los yngenios he otras haziendas y como A causa de los dichos yngenios estan adeudados, y convernia a nuestro servicio y poblacion desa ysla se le esperase por las dichas deudas, sin enbargo de lo qual dezis quel liçençiado vadillo *da çierto ynpedimento e ynterpretaçion* de espera de los quinze meses que mandamos dar por manera que no les aprovecha ni gozan de la dicha merced en lo qual avemos mandado proveer lo que conviene, y si el dicho liçençiado en la dicha cobrança hiziere agravio a algunas personas excediendo de la Ynstruçion que para ello llevo yo lo mandare ver y Remediar con justiçia.

quanto a lo que dezis que algunos vezinos desa ysla conpelidos con mucha nesçesidad para sostener sus haziendas e grangerias y Atreviendose A la merçed e liçençia que thenemos dada A esa ysla para pasar a ella çierto numero de esclavos An pasado a ella Algunos sin liçençia nuestra con que se An Remediado, e me suplicays que avido Respecto a lo suso dicho y al servicio y provecho que de pasar los dichos esclavos a esa ysla se nos sygue y A que syn ellos las granjerias y haziendas della se perderian los oviesemos por bien pasados y no se proçediese por ello contra las personas que los an pasado syn enbargo de las permisiones que por nos estan dadas, para que los que se an pasado o pasaren syn nuestra liçençia sean perdidos para la nuestra camara, enbiarme eys la Relaçion de quien son las dichas personas que ansy an pasado los dichos esclavos syn liçençia y que cantidad ha pasado cada uno para que se provea lo que convenga. . . .

El traslado de la çedula que dezis que enbiays para que de las cosas que se llevaren destos Reynos A esa ysla para yngenios no se paguen derechos del almoxarifasgo, e que los nuestros officiales desa ysla dan *otro entendimiento por que dize que no se entiende negros ni cobre*, y me suplicays la mande guardar haziendo declaracion della el dicho traslado, no se Resçibio ni vino Aca y por no saber el tienpo en que se despacho no se ha hallado Aca en los libros, enbiadme el dicho traslado

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en manera que haga fee para que yo la mande ver y proveer lo que convenga. . . .

de burgos a quinze dias del mes de hebrero de mill y quinientos y veynte y ocho años. YO EL REY. por mandado de su magestad. francisco de los covos. señalada del obispo de osma e dotor beltran y obispo de çibdad Rodrigo.

XVIII. THE QUEEN TO THE AUDIENCIA, FEBRUARY 26, 1538.[42]

la Reyna.

presidente E oydores de la nuestra abdiençia y chançilleria Real de la ysla española. sabastian de rodrigues en nonbre de diego cavallero, vecino de la ysla, me ha hecho rrelacion, quel es uno de los primeros pobladores y conquistadores della y que de treinta años esta parte siempre nos haser vido en los descubrimentos y conquistas del mar oceano, y que como buen vezino e poblador desa ysla y para la ennoblesçer y perpetuarse en ella el ha echo un edificio de yngenio de açucar en un rrio que se dize nigua, que ha sido cosa de mucha costa y travajo en que diz que ha gastado mas de quinze mill ducados, en el qual dicho yngenio tiene echa una poblacion de españoles y negros e yndios en que ay mas de sesenta casas de piedra y de paja, y que en la dicha poblacion tiene una yglesia con un clerigo que les dize misa, y ha començado en aquella hazienda a poner viñas las quales diz que se dan muy bien y que tiene trigo sembrado, y espera que se dara abundantemente, y que como cosa que tanto le ha costado desea que tenga alguna perpetuidad, en especial porque cae en camino por donde vienen todos los españoles que escapan de las otras tierras, los quales son alli muy socorridos, y que tiene pensamiento de en esta hazienda hazer todas las espiriencias del pastel grana y morales para seda, y de todos los frutales de estos rreinos porque es tierra aparejada para ello, y me supplico en el dicho nombre, que en rremuneracion de sus servicios y travajos y porque otros se examinen a hazar lo mismo y del que de memoria como de primero poblador le hiziesemos merced quel dicho su yngenio con la dicha poblacion y con todo lo que en el hiziese y edificase por su solar conoçido, conçediendole una legua de tierra en quadra prolongado o Redondo, como mejor se pudiere hazer en las tierras suyas propias que se le han dado y el ha comprado y en las demas que junto dellas estan baldias sin perjuicio de tercero. lo qual pudiese amojonar y deslindar para que fuese termino conoçido con las tierras montes pastos e aguas que en ello hoviese para el y sus descendientes, y que en la gente que en el dicho su termino e poblacion rresidiese y alli ocurriese, toviese el y los dichos sus descendientes la juresdicion hordinaria y que como fundador de la dicha yglesia toviese el patronadgo della y pudiese presentar el beneficio, o como la mi merced fuese. lo qual visto por los del nuestro consejo de las yndias fue acordado que devia mandar dar esta mi cedula para vos e yo tovelo por bien. porque vos mando que veais lo suso dicho, y llamados e oidos los rregidores desa dicha ciudad de santo domingo, ayais ynformacion y sepais que yngenio es el que ansi tiene echo el dicho diego cavallero, y

[42] A. G. I., 78–2–1: Audiencia de Sto. Domingo, Registros de oficio, Reales Ord's dirigidas a las autoridades del destrito de la audiencia. Años 1536 á 1605. Marginal note: "Diego Cavallero." Diego Caballero is mentioned in 1527 as clerk of the audiencia.

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en que parte esta, y si de hazerle merced quel dicho yngenio con la poblacion que en el tiene y de aqui adelante hiziere que de por su solar conocido y darle una legua de tierra de manera que la pide y la jurisdiccion hordinaria para el y sus descendientes y el patronazgo de la yglesia de la dicha poblacion se siguiria algund daño o perjuizio a nos, o a otra persona alguna y en que, o si seria bien hazerle la dicha merced, y de todo lo de mas que vierdes que devo ser ynformada, çerca dello ayais la dicha ynformacion e havida y la verdad sabida escripta en limpio e signada del escrivano ante quien pasare cerrada y sellada en manera que haga fee juntamente, con vuestro parecer de lo que en ello se deve hazer, la embiad ante nos al dicho nuestro consejo para que vista en el se provea lo que convenga y sea justicia e non fagades ende al. fecha en la villa de valladolid a 26 dias del mes de hebrero de 1538 años. firmada y Registrada de los dichos.

La Reyna.

XIX. Estevez to King Philip II., July 4, 1563.[43]

A la Catolica rreal magestad del rrei don felipe nuestro señor en su rreal consejo de yndias etc.

Catolica rreal magestad.

por carta del fiscal de vueso rreal consejo colijo de sus palabras aberme nonbrado por negligente y rremiso en cosas tocantes a vueso rreal servicio escritores y coronistas en algunas cartas que se an escrito a vuesa magestad y a su rreal consejo.

lo que pasa es que yo soy, como vuesa magestad esta ynformado, natural de la parra en el condado de feria[44] primo del llicenciado figueroa vueso oydor que fue En valladolid, de tan linpia y onrrada generaçion quanto alla y aca es notorio. yo case en esta çibdad de santo domingo con gente tal como yo y de mi tierra en fin del año de 44. desde este tienpo hasta agora tengo casa muger e hijos y sirvo a vuesa magestad en este oficio de vueso fiscal tan linpia y fiel y diligentemente y con tanto cuidado y como buen xrisptiano que a todos los que an pasado aca ni que pasaren no les dare ventaja y no ay aca cosa mas notoria. En este tienpo yo fue un año por mandado de vuesa rreal audençia a tomar rresidençia al lliçençiado juanes davila en la ysla de cuba y otro año a tomar rresidençia al dotor ballejo en la ysla de puerto rrico y en estos ofiçios y biajes gaste muchos dineros de mi casa por hazer sienpre lo que hera obligado, y en todas las partes donde estado daran testimonio de mis obras todos los que me an conoçido y conoçen. El salario que E ganado de fiscal an sido çinquenta mill maravedis desta moneda que buena no se me a dado y en papel se an gastado y agora con el oficio vuesa magestad me hizo merçed de otros çinquenta mill maravedis y si no se dan de buena moneda se gastan oy los çien mill maravedis en una pipa de vino, y otro tanto bale una pipa de harina con veinte y ocho arrobas, una arroba de azeite beinte pesos, una libra de xabon un peso y cinco tomines, una bara de rruan tres pesos y medio, bara de terçiopelo beinte pesos, una

[43] A. G. I., 53–6–5: Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Tres libros de cartas de las autoridades, personas eclesiasticas y seculares de la Isla de Santo Domingo desde 1534 á 1574.

[44] In the province of Badajoz.

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onça de seda quatro pesos un negro voçal comun de mill pesos arriba y todas las cosas de castilla a este rrespeto.

estan perdidas estas tres yslas que no ay mays ni caçabi que son los mantenimientos de aca que los destruye y no deja criar El caçabi un gusano y al mays lo comen papagayos, y la carestia de los negros apocan los labradores. vale una carga de caçabi o hanega de mays 7 pesos y no se halla, E se padeçe gran neçesidad los ganados y carne se apoca, por secas de falta de agua se muere el ganado y por perros que se hazen monteses y brabos por los canpos son peores que lobos en castilla son tantos que no ai rremedio aunque se matan hartos, por que pare de un parto una perra desiseis hijos, ay un genero de monte que se dize guayabos que an naçido tantos en estas tres yslas y çiegan tanto la tierra y pastos y criaderos de ganados que solo dios basta rremediarlo. es tan gran perdiçion esto que solo basta para se perder. Estas tres yslas y podriase rremediar algo con aber muchos negros en precios moderados, y esto vuesa alteza lo puede rremediar con hazer merced a esta ysla de diez mill liçençias de negros por tienpo de diez o quinze años y los metiesen los vecinos o las personas que ellos nonbrasen y aqui manifestaçen los negros y pagasen quinze ducados de buena moneda de derechos, que no sufre mas esta ysla y sustentarse an las haziendas y ganados y minas, y lo que vuesa magestad pierde en los derechos de liçençias gana en sustentar estas yslas y en los frutos que yran donde vuesa magestad tendra gran provecho, y do por aviso que aca entendemos ser mas provechoso hazerse las manifestaçiones de negros y rropas aca, porque de ninguna cosa se dejarian de pagar vuesos rreales derechos cunplidamente y porque acaeçe por casos benir sin liçencia ni rregistro negros y rropa, y por temor que no se lo tomen por perdido lo encubren de tal manera que ni los dueños lo gozan ni los oficiales de vuesa alteza lo pueden descubrir y asi se pierde mucho totalmente y no se pagan los derechos y esto no tiene aca ningun rremedio a lo menos en todo, y para lo que vuesa magestad tiene en peru y nueva españa y otras partes conbiene estar estas yslas como puertas y çeca y socorro de fortaleza bien pobladas que le seria muy dañoso a vuesa magestad lo contrario, y esto basta para tener muy gran quenta con ellas y hazer mercedes a los vecinos que oy rresiden y suçesores para questen quedos y no las dejen ni despueblen, porque no espere vuesa magestad que se aya de poblar del que nuevamente biene que no ay yndios que le rrepartir ni socorro que le dar con que pare un dia, y asi de quantos bienen onbres del canpo que hazen falta en castilla aca no quieren trabajar ellos bienen huyendo del trabajo ni para ninguno aqui, y esto a de mandar vuesa magestad rremediar que se vienen aca perdidos por holgar y olvidan sus mugeres e hijos y luego quieren ser soldados y caballeros.

y en esto de la poblaçion y bien de la tierra pareceme que sienpre se an descuidado vuesos oydores y no visitar la tierra y animar los vecinos Echolo a que sienpre tienen ojo a yrse de aqui y no permaneçer en ella, toda esta quenta E dado, por que entiendo que hago serviçio a vuesa magestad y no poco por que escrivo verdad y lo que haze muy al caso E ynporta la moneda que corre destos quartos en que nos pagan nueve pesos destos quartos se dan por un peso En oro fino.

lo que ynporta y es mas prinçipal en esta ysla para la tener poblada presupuesto lo de arriba son ganados e yngenios de açucar. esto da mas probecho y tiene la gente y puebla la tierra y trae los navios y esto no tiene duda, y tras esto las minas, y como onbre antiguo y esperimentado

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en todo esto vuesa magestad me de credito que esto es asi y esto es menester sustentar y favoreçer como cosa que tanto ynporta a la perpetuidad y poblaçion desta ysla.

yo diverti la materia y tornando al punto de ynformar de mi persona avra doze años que En conpañia de un cuñado mio començe a hazer un yngenio de cavallos çinco leguas desta çibdad, y hize una hazienda con una casa de piedra con trezientos pies de largo y treynta de ancho para tener los açucares yençima una torre para vibir la gente y el yngenio con su molienda de çiento y ochenta pies de largo y quarenta y çinco de ancho, todo de piedra y lindas maderas, que no se a labrado mejor en la ysla, con mas de dos mill pies de naranjos y limas y otros arboles de frutas, y moli en el nueve años, y por ser molienda de cavallos y queria tenerla de agua la vendi, y conpre un yngenio de agua que a quarenta años lo hizieron los pasamontes vuesos tesoreros, que En su tienpo fue cosa de ver y en los suçesores se fue perdiendo hasta que abra quatro años que le conpre perdido caidas las paredes y açequias, y lo e rredificado que las obras que en el tengo hechas son de rromanos, E hasta alli ay que ber en hazienda semejante esta tal que rreyes como vuesa magestad se podian preçiar della. esto Emos trabajado yo E un cuñado sin favor ni Emprestido ni Enojar anima biviente ni nos aver dado ni rrepartido un palmo de tierra sino con el poco dote de mi muger y poco de mi cuñado francisco rrodriguez franco y gran soliçitud y trabajo nuestro, tanto que en castilla y todas las yndias hasta aqui pueden llegar onbres labradores y trabajadores y pobladores y mas no que me a acaeçido en estos años salir de audiençia y asta otra audiençia aber andado con aguas y soles y pasados rrios mas de veynte leguas y esto muchas vezes, y plugiera a dios tuviera vuesa magestad En esta ysla mill onbres semejantes aunque costara harto que la ysla estuviera de otra manera, y estos son los que vuesa magestad a menester y los que se an de honrrar y a quien se an de hazer creçidas mercedes, para que otros se animen a hazer otro tanto. es tanto verdad lo que tengo dicho que de todos que ban sera vuesa magestad ynformado mas cunplidamente, e yo lo enbiare provado, para que vuesa magestad sea servido, hazernos merced de algunas liçençias de negros para sustentar y abiar esta hazienda. . . .

de santo domingo 4 de julio de 1563 años.

de vuesa catolica rreal magestad menor criado y vasallo

El licenciado Estevez. [*Rubric.*]

[*Endorsed*:] Vista.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS

Civilization and Climate. By ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1915. Pp. xii, 333.)

THE book contains important contributions of two kinds: (1) reports of actual investigations of the effect of climate and weather upon man; and (2) an analysis of the reports, supplemented by the author's opinions. These opinions are valuable because the author has had unusual opportunities for the study of climate and man in many parts of the world and has devoted years of intensive study to the subject. Some of Professor Huntington's earlier conclusions regarding the relation of climatic changes to historical events have been vigorously opposed. The present book will encounter less criticism because most of his main hypotheses are well supported by observed facts and the others are cautiously stated.

Following are some of the significant conclusions set forth in the book: (1) That mental and physical vigor are definitely related to the outside temperature. A study of five hundred factory operatives in Connecticut and over three thousand in Southern States, and a study of the daily class-records of 1700 students at Annapolis and West Point, indicate that an average temperature of 60° to 65° F. is the optimum for physical work, and that mental activity normally reaches its maximum when the outside temperature averages about 38° F. (2) That moderate and frequent changes of temperature are stimulating, and hence that those climatic belts which are subject to frequent and moderate changes of weather are most favorable to man's progress. (3) That the above type of climate prevails to-day wherever civilization is high, and seems to have prevailed in the past wherever a great civilization arose. (4) That the alternate northward and southward shifting of this belt of frequent temperature-changes has in the past favored countries further south (in the northern hemisphere) than those which are now so favored.

That great changes of climate have taken place in the past has long since been established by such proofs as the presence of glacial deposits in different geologic ages and in low latitudes; and by the presence of fossil palms in Greenland and Spitzbergen. Penck, the leading European glaciologist, has shown by his studies of sand dunes, salt lakes, and changing heights of the snow line in certain latitudes, that the climatic zones shift north and south during long periods. He holds that during a glacial period the northern storm-belt is shifted southward so that the storminess of Germany and the northern United States is pushed into Italy and the southern United States.

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Dr. Huntington does not maintain that climate determines a nation's degree of civilization. If it did the North American Indians should have been a great people. He says, "A favorable climate will not cause a stupid and degenerate race to rise to a high level"; he holds, however, that a race cannot attain or retain a high degree of civilization in an unfavorable climate.

His study of white and negro farmers in the North and South indicates that the white farmers investigated rank nearly twice as high in efficiency as the negro farmers, North or South; and that the Northern whites studied outrank in efficiency the Southern whites as 100 to 51; and the Northern negroes outrank the Southern negroes as forty-nine to thirty-four. Evidently "race and place" both count.

In the chapter on the White Man in the Tropics, he masses much evidence to show that tropical climate weakens character through inducing a proneness to indulgence, inertia, and weakness of will. In his chapter on the Effect of the Seasons he reports the results of fourteen tests of the effect which the seasons have on human activity. These tests were made in Denmark, Japan, and in eight of our states, and all agree in their evidence that the change of seasons is notably stimulating and that men are at their best in spring and fall.

The studies and maps based upon replies made to a questionnaire by 137 Americans and foreigners show that the parts of the world selected by this group as representing the highest civilizations coincide closely with the regions possessing the highest climatic energy.

When making large generalizations, the author speaks with commendable caution. He repeatedly states that he is advancing an hypothesis, not presenting an established truth; for example (p. 249), "This hypothesis is so new that there has not yet been time for it to be fully discussed and tested by a large number of workers. Therefore the reader must be cautious in accepting it." Again he says (p. 221), "I do not delude myself with the idea that the problem of the relation of climate to civilization is solved."

The main hypotheses in *Civilization and Climate* are of unquestionable importance. They appear to point toward truths of great significance. From many sources evidence is accumulating that there are pulsations of climate—long cycles and short cycles—progressive changes from cooler to warmer and the reverse; from arid to humid and the reverse. Some of these cycles are only a few years in length; others are decades in length, and still others are measured in centuries or millenniums.

Dr. Huntington is trying to collect and interpret the evidence of these significant climatic changes. His latest book, conservative and guarded as it is, contains inferences and deductions which are offered as tentative, not final.

R. H. Whitbeck.

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BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

English Field Systems. By HOWARD LEVI GRAY, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Harvard University. [Harvard Historical Studies, vol. XXII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1915. Pp. ix, 568.)

NOT every scholar is competent to deal with the complex and difficult materials from which the history of English agriculture must be written. The appearance of a work like Professor Gray's is an event, and his careful study is a notable contribution. Its scope is defined by the effort to solve the problem of the racial element in manorial origins, which was so forcibly presented a generation ago by Seebohm. The chief interest of the general reader in the book will arise from the fact that it is the first thoroughgoing attempt to deal with this problem; but it is important for other reasons. An original study of Celtic land systems provides information concerning a phase of the subject heretofore inadequately handled. Incidentally it appears that the subdivision of arable in the manner known as runrig is not an essential of the Celtic plan. Moreover the body of material gathered by much patient research is treated from the territorial point of view, and some older fallacies accordingly are exposed. Thus the three-field system is seen not to have prevailed throughout England, as has often been assumed. Even the famous Hitchin fields are not typical of the county in which they lie. Another noteworthy feature of the work is the attention given to the neglected two-field system. The existence of this is attested as early as the tenth century, before the three-field system is specifically described. The distribution of the two is shown to forbid acceptance of the theory that they arose through different tribal or racial influences. The explanation of their relationship is that three-course tillage arose as an improvement in agricultural method in regions where quality of soil permitted the increased demand upon it which was the object of the change.

The great result of the investigation is the conclusion that three distinct types of field prevailed in as many parts of England. The author's researches enable him to map these areas. The plan by which peasant holdings of arable were distributed with some approach to evenness in two or three fields prevailed in the great region reaching from the Channel as far north as Durham and from Cambridgeshire as far west as Wales. In a second territorial division, which comprised, generally speaking, the counties of the southwest as well as those of the northwest and north, the open fields as might be expected bear marked traits of the Celtic system. The remainder of England, including Kent, East Anglia, and the counties of the lower Thames basin, shows field systems variable but different from those found elsewhere. These the writer conjectures grew out of the usage of Kent where the *iugum* formed a peculiar unit of villein tenure. The two- and three-field

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system is claimed as Germanic in origin on the ground of its prevalence to the east and south of the Weser; the Kentish system, on the other hand, is held to bear traces of Roman origin. The conclusions based upon these findings are modestly stated. The author fully recognizes the gulf of seven centuries which separates the Germanic conquest of Britain from the earliest period of satisfactory records. Yet he is entitled to make deductions where earlier writers have hazarded them from far less complete data. The evidence of land systems, so he states, implies that Roman influence was longest felt in southeastern England where there was probably a considerable survival of Celtic serfs. In the great area of the two-field and three-field system Germanic conquest was of a thoroughgoing nature. In the district where Celtic agrarian usage was retained the process of subjugation is known to have been slow and difficult. Such is the trend of the latest expert opinion based upon the tracing of our most promising clue to the character and conditions of the Anglo-Saxon conquest.

W. A. Morris.

A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West. By Sir R. W. Carlyle, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., and A. J. Carlyle, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer in Politics and Economics, University College, Oxford. Volume III. *Political Theory from the Tenth Century to the Thirteenth.* By A. J. Carlyle. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1915. Pp. xvii, 201.)

This is the third volume of a work the first two of which have already been reviewed in this journal (X. 629; XV. 836). The first volume dealt with political theories from the second century to the ninth, the second with those of the Roman lawyers and canonists, and the third was to have dealt with political theory from the tenth to the thirteenth century. The authors concluded, however (p. 17), "that the adequate treatment of the subjects has required so much space that we have decided to deal with feudalism and the general political ideas in this volume, and with the relations of the temporal and spiritual powers in the next".

So the present volume is devoted to a treatment of "the influence of feudalism on political theory" in which such subjects as personal loyalty, justice and law, source and maintenance of law, are taken up, and to "political theory in the eleventh and twelfth centuries", under which natural law and equality, the divine nature and moral function of political authority, divine right, justice and law, the social contract and universal empire are considered.

In the part on feudalism the author combats the only too prevalent notion drawn mostly from the abuses of feudal survivals of the times of Louis XIV. and the absolute monarchs. "There is still a vulgar impression that in the Middle Ages men looked upon authority as irre-

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sponsible" (p. 30). After showing that such was not the case either in theory or fact, he concludes: "Whatever else may be said about it, one thing is clear, and that is that feudalism represents the antithesis to the conception of an autocratic or absolute government" (p. 74). "The authority of the lady or lord is only an authority to do law or justice . . . they have no authority to behave unjustly" (p. 32). The king "is under the law, for the law makes the king". Feudalism's "main influence went to further the growth of the principle that the community is governed by law, and that the ruler as much as the subject is bound to obey the law" (p. 86).

To the medieval mind law was custom, but we are inclined to take issue with the author in his statement (pp. 44–46) that it was as late as the thirteenth century that men began only faintly to conceive of laws being made by the prince and his wise men without particular reference to custom.

Of divine right Mr. Carlyle says: "The writers of these centuries are practically unanimous in maintaining that the authority of the king or emperor is derived from God" (p. 100), and that it is "his function to secure the establishment and maintenance of justice". A ruler who does not do justice, however, is not a king but a tyrant and may be resisted (pp. 116, 126, 143). By this clever turn the right of resistance was upheld, and even though some writers held to the theory of non-resistance "it was not the normal theory of the Middle Ages" (p. 125). Though the king got his power from God, any particular king got his from the community by election, and certainly "the conception of a strictly hereditary right to monarchy is not a medieval conception" (p. 150).

The quality of this volume is not up to the standard of the first two. An excusable amount of repetition in those, in this becomes an absolute abuse. Perhaps the nervous strain under which most writers in Europe must be doing their work may account for this.

On page 156 the author falls into the error of deriving from certain events narrated by Lambert of Hersfeld theories which Lambert may or may not have drawn. On pages 166 and 168 he still adheres to a position taken in his earlier volume (II. 63) that the social contract was first enunciated by Manegold of Lautenbach in the eleventh century and on page 12 he dismisses St. Augustine's "pactum obedire regibus" as not pertinent. He more or less justifies this by contending that Manegold's idea of the social contract "is not constructed upon some quasi-historical conception of the beginnings of political society, but rather represents . . . the principle of the medieval state as embodied in . . . reciprocal oaths" (p. 168). In spite of this, however, it may be safely said that the theory of a *pactum* between subjects and their ruler was in existence earlier than Manegold and the particular turn which he gave it does not make him the creator of it.

Some minor errors may be noted, such as the loose construction of

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the last sentence on page 169. The author's greatest fault in this volume, as in his first, is the prejudice which he seems to have against citing secondary authorities. On page 114, for example, why should he not tell us who it is that makes "the complete mistake" of saying that the medieval theorists doubted the divine origin of the State or that it had an ethical end? In spite of these shortcomings, however, the book still remains a distinct contribution to the subject.

JAMES SULLIVAN.

Recueil d'Actes relatifs à l'Administration des Rois d'Angleterre en Guyenne au XIII^e^ Siècle (Recogniciones Feodorum in Aquitania). Transcrits et publiés par CHARLES BÉMONT, Directeur adjoint à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. [Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1914. Pp. lxxv, 475.)

THE task of the reviewer of any work from the pen of so eminent an historian as M. Bémont must of necessity be in the main descriptive. In the present work he has published for the first time in a complete form a manuscript of the first importance for the study of the history of Gascony under the English rule.

The early portion of the thirteenth century was a period of much turmoil in Gascony. Wars between the English and the French, civil wars between towns, factions, and nobles, revolts against the English king, followed each other with scarcely any intervals of peace. Henry III., whose authority was never very securely established, finally in 1252 made over his rights in the province to his son Edward. The prince did not make his appearance in his new possession till the years 1254–1255, when he came to crush a revolt and re-establish—or try to re-establish—order.

One of the first steps in the direction of order would be to ascertain in some definite manner what the royal rights actually were. For this purpose Edward directed a sort of census, requiring all who held from the king to make a statement on oath of the nature and extent of their holdings and of the obligations which they entailed. This statement was to be made before the king or his representatives, was to be reduced to writing by a notary, and subscribed by witnesses. Communes were thus to declare the privileges they held and to acknowledge their obligations toward their suzerain.

Such an undertaking under medieval conditions could not be carried out at once. Edward indeed seems to have begun the process during his visit in 1254–1255, and to have urged it on in his absence. In 1274 a particularly widespread set of such declarations was gathered. Finally, between 1281 and 1294, all these declarations were gathered up and copied into a cartulary by several scribes along with some other matter of the same character and some documents of a different sort.

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It is this cartulary—the *Recogniciones Feodorum in Aquitania*—which M. Bémont has now published for the first time in full and accurate fashion. The importance of such a document as the above needs little comment. It is a mine of information of all kinds concerning Gascony in the latter part of the thirteenth century.

The history of the document is rather curious. How and when it left the archives of Bordeaux and where it was originally kept, are both unknown. All that can be determined with certainty is that in 1627 it was purchased by Augustus, duke of Brunswick, and placed in the library of the dukes of Brunswick at Wolfenbüttel, where it still remains. The existence of this document—nearly complete—has been long known to scholars and its importance recognized. Pardessus published in his *Lois Maritimes* an extract from it, namely a copy of the statutes of an association of patrons and sailors at Bayonne. Augustin Thierry succeeded in having it sent to Paris, where it was copied by Martial and Jules Delpit and afterwards returned. In 1841 they published a *Notice d'un Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Wolfenbüttel intitulé: Recogniciones Feodorum.* In this and also in volumes III. and V. of the *Archives Historiques de la Gironde* they published considerable extracts from it. Their copy, however, left much to be desired in the way of accuracy and the publication was by no means complete. It was therefore felt to be desirable that the work should be undertaken afresh and the present volume is the result.

A work of such great importance, executed from photographic plates by a scholar of such great and peculiar qualifications for the task as is M. Bémont, must be in a high degree welcome. The student of the history of southwestern France will find here a vast mine of information with all the apparatus to facilitate its ready exploitation.

F. B. Marsh.

The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536–1537, and the Exeter Conspiracy, 1538. By Madeleine Hope Dodds and Ruth Dodds. In two volumes. (Cambridge: University Press. 1915. Pp. viii, 388; 381.)

This is an admirable piece of work, which bids fair to remain the standard authority on the events with which it deals. The authors are obviously well equipped for the task they have undertaken. They have made full use of the documents in the Record Office and in the British Museum, and of the invaluable collection of *Letters and Papers.* They have read and digested the historical literature of the period, and have correlated such new material as they have found with what has been known before. They are strictly impartial, and their style is clear, convincing, and very agreeable. Nothing anywhere near as elaborate and thorough has previously been written on the Pilgrimage of Grace: further "finds" in local and family archives may modify some of the

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details of the story as presented here, but we feel confident that the main lines will not be radically changed. Nor does the present book contain any very startling departures from the hitherto accepted account. There are no revolutionary conclusions. It rather confirms and substantiates with a wealth of new detail what we have hitherto been taught to believe; and it fills in a number of gaps. It emphasizes the great importance of the fact that the ranks of the Pilgrims contained both gentlemen and commons, that the movement, like the Great Rebellion of the seventeenth century, was the monopoly of no one class of society.

Many of the men who opposed Charles I were lineal descendants of the Pilgrims. Philip and Brian Stapleton, the great-great-grandsons of Christopher Stapleton, both distinguished themselves in the cause of the Parliament. Richard Aske, the great-great-grandson of young Robert Aske, the nephew and namesake of the grand captain, was one of the lawyers who drew up the indictment of Charles I. The great Lord Fairfax was descended on his father's side from Sir Nicholas Fairfax, an enthusiastic Pilgrim, and on his mother's from young Robert Aske. Sir William Constable, who signed the death-warrant of Charles I, was the great-great-grandson of Sir Robert Constable. These are not mere genealogical freaks. The spirit which had defied Henry VIII overwhelmed Charles I.

The wide divergence in the aims of the rebels—religious, agrarian, legal, and personal—the lack of leadership, and the supineness of the Church, which alone might have given the movement the unity indispensable to success, are also clearly brought out. The Duke of Norfolk receives full measure of well-merited abuse; Robert Aske is distinctly the hero of the story. The last two chapters on the White Rose Party and the Exeter Conspiracy of 1538, militate somewhat against the aesthetic unity of the book as a whole. The connection of the events there treated with the Pilgrimage is not sufficiently obvious to make it quite clear why they were "lugged in". In themselves, however, they are excellently well done, and contain by far the best and fullest account of a hitherto neglected episide.

There is an article by Dr. G. T. Lapsley on "The Problem of the North" in volume V. of this journal, which the authors of the present book have apparently missed: they could have used it to advantage in writing on the Council of the North. In connection with their account of the origin of this interesting and important body, we venture to express the opinion that the Misses Dodd have failed adequately to emphasize the importance of the dispute between the Duke of Norfolk on the one hand and the king and Cromwell on the other about the class of men who were to compose it. The duke insisted that the task was one which only noblemen could adequately perform: "The wylde peple of all the Marches wolde not be kept in order unles one of good estimacion and nobilitie have the ordering thereof"; while Henry and his minister asserted that His Majesty had already been ill-served on the Borders

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"by reason of controversy and variaunce depending between the great men that ly upon the same"—but that if His Majesty should appoint "the meanest man to rule and govern in that place" . . . his royal authority ought to be sufficient to cause all men to serve him "without respect of the very estate of the personage". An animated correspondence upon this topic continued from February to May, 1537; it was finally closed by the king in an epistle to which our authors refer as a "gracious letter of thanks to Norfolk for his services in the North" (II. 250); and they subsequently quote some of the earlier sentences thereof. But they stop short of what seems to us the vital clause of the whole matter—"For surely we woll not be bounde of a necessitie to be served there with lordes, but we wol be served with such men what degre soever they be of as we shall appointe to the same."—And this was much more than a triumph of the king's plebeian minister over the head of one of the most ancient families in the land. It was more even than the settlement of the composition of the Council of the North. It was perhaps the most striking exemplification that has come down to us of the way in which the principle of *Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos* was used to support the edifice of Tudor absolutism.

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

Les Protestants Anglais réfugiés à Genève au Temps de Calvin, 1555–1560. Par CHARLES MARTIN, Docteur en Théologie, Ancien Pasteur à Genève. (Geneva: A. Jullien. 1915. Pp. xv, 352.)

"THE Englishe Churche and Congregation at Geneva" was of more importance than its duration, from 1555 to 1560, or its numbers would indicate. In the first place it furnished a working model of a free church choosing its own officers, creed, and liturgy, and of a Puritan church carrying out what Knox and his allies vainly attempted in Frankfort, especially the maintenance of a purer form of worship and a strict discipline approved by the "congregation" and enforced by representative ministers and laymen. M. Martin makes this clear in his first chapters.

In the second place, the church was prolific in publications. Its constitution, liturgy, and psalter (the Scottish *Book of Common Order*) spread through Scotland and England. The unflinching theology and pregnant notes of the Genevan Version, or "Breeches Bible", moulded the political philosophy, and its virile, rhythmic, Elizabethan English formed the ways of speech of England and America. The chapters on the influence of these books, with his scholarly bibliography of forty-four publications by the exiles, constitute the core of Martin's book and make it worth while. He agrees with Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* in including as translators of the Geneva Bible Whittingham, Gilby, Cole, Goodman, and Coverdale; but excludes Sampson, given by Wood, and

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adds Kethe (translator of "Old Hundredth"), Baron, and Knox. Martin disagrees with the usual account of the immediate success of the translation, relying here largely on Whittingham's inaccurate statement in 1575 that it had not been reprinted. Martin himself records two separate editions of the New Testament and three of the whole Bible by 1570. He is however entirely correct in pointing out the decided increase of editions after the death of Archbishop Parker in 1575.

The political theories of "constitutional government, and the limited authority of 'superior powers'", as Mitchell has pointed out, were not only published and exemplified by these exiles but have been accepted by the English-speaking world. Here Martin is at home through previous publications, and one of his best chapters discusses the publications of Goodman, Gilby, and Knox.

The chapter on the work of the exiles after their return is perhaps as good an account as can be found in such brief compass. Especially significant is the comment in a letter to Calvin by Gallars, the pastor sent from Geneva to the French church in London, that the returned exiles "ne gardent aucune mesure". A list is given of a dozen exiles of the more moderate temper who were called to bishoprics or deaneries and shared directly in the ecclesiastical reorganization as revisers of the Prayer Book or Thirty-Nine Articles. The reader would have welcomed a fuller list of the positions, noteworthy in number and importance, held in the universities and the church. For such information, and for the names and activities of both the 186 members of the church and the twenty-six other English exiles in Geneva, one must still turn to scattered biographical material and to the lists in Mitchell (or Hyer) containing at least forty-one annotated names lacking in Martin's index. M. Martin has reprinted the *Livre des Anglois,* still preserved at Geneva, containing the "Membres of the Church", "Ministers, Seniors and Deacons yerely chosen", baptisms, marriages, and burials. Such entries at once suggest significant comparisons with colonial church records.

In spite of some minor errors and omissions—almost inevitable in such a mass of names and bibliographical data—the book gives evidence of both modesty and scholarship. Its author has rendered a service by combining documents and precise bibliographical material with a clear discussion of a significant illustration of the internationalism of Geneva and Puritanism.

HERBERT DARLING FOSTER.

The Archbishops of St. Andrews. By JOHN HERKLESS and ROBERT KERR HANNAY. Volume V. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1915. Pp. 268.)

THE fifth volume of the history of the archbishops of Saint Andrews continues on the lines of its predecessors and is devoted to the life of

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John Hamilton, the last Roman Catholic archbishop. This volume tells an intricate and tragic story of rivalry, intrigue, strife, murder, and execution. Scotland, a poor and backward country, the scene of the rival efforts for influence of two great powers, France and England, was then in a position not unlike that of a Balkan state in modern times. Its natural development was checked by outside influences. Acute and violent religious strife divided its people. Old feuds separated the great landowners. The discipline of the Church had long been weak, for the results of the organizing genius of Innocent III. had hardly reached Scotland and its ecclesiastical disorders were a scandal for many scores of years before the Protestant movement began. In this respect there is the sharpest contrast between the primates in Scotland and the primates in England. Canterbury was staid and respectable, St. Andrews was dissolute. It is the contrast between two different stages of civilization.

The life of John Hamilton represents in outline the state of society in Scotland. He was the bastard son of the first Earl of Arran and himself, though an archbishop, the father of many bastards, whom he was not ashamed to acknowledge. When he was fourteen the pope named him to be abbot of the rich monastery of Paisley. He studied in Paris and brought back to Scotland some smatterings of French culture and an outlook broader than that of many of the ecclesiastics about him. Before he was forty he was archbishop of St. Andrews and primate of Scotland. This post made him the leader of the Scottish church during the great struggle with the Protestants under John Knox. By nature Hamilton was no persecutor, but his office made him one. Mylne, an old man of eighty, was burned for heresy at St. Andrews in 1558 and there was bitter comment upon the immoral life of Hamilton, his persecutor, compared with the character of the devout old man whose grey hairs might have protected him. The authors combat the received tradition that Hamilton was active in punishing Mylne. When the Scottish Parliament made Scotland officially Protestant Hamilton's position was difficult. He supported the Roman Catholic Queen Mary against her Protestant subjects and showed no scruple in his partizanship. Forces were gathering that involved civil war. When Mary was obliged to fly from the country Hamilton had little power. He took an active part in the plot which resulted in the murder of the regent Moray, and when accused admitted his guilt. The result was that, clothed in a full array of ecclesiastical vestments, the archbishop was hanged in the market-place of Stirling, April 6, 1571.

Such is the graphic story covered by this volume. There is, however, nothing graphic in the telling of the story. The authors have used conscientiously their authorities, state papers, acts of Parliament, registers, etc., with the result that they are able to construct almost an itinerary of Hamilton. But they have infused into this dead material no spark of the life which only imaginative insight would give. James

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Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who murdered Moray and with whom the archbishop had dealings, was a picturesque villain who tried later to murder the Prince of Orange. What would not Robert Louis Stevenson have made of such material as that furnished by Bothwellhaugh, Châtelherault, Queen Mary, Knox, and many others? Stevenson, of course, was a man of letters, but why should not the historian write literature? The volume is badly arranged. The same heading runs through the whole book, the chapters themselves have only dates for their titles, and no outline of the contents is to be found anywhere. The index, too, is without cross-references. Painstaking research and accuracy do not wholly compensate for these defects.

Les Sources de l'Histoire de France, XVI^e^ Siècle (1494–1610). Par HENRI HAUSER, Professeur à l'Université de Dijon. Volume IV. *Henri IV. (1589–1610).* (Paris: August Picard. 1916. Pp. xix, 223.)

WITH this work M. Hauser completes a labor of erudition which has occupied him for the past ten years, and which fills four volumes, covering the period of the Italian wars, the reigns of Francis I. and Henry II., the wars of religion, and finally the reign of Henry IV. Carlyle compared the pamphlet literature of the Cromwellian epoch to the mines of Potosí. The comparison applies with equal aptness, both for volume and for quality, to the sources of French history in the sixteenth century. One who has himself spent many months of research in the archives of the history of France in this period may be permitted to congratulate M. Hauser most heartily upon the accomplishment of a task of scholarship in which love and duty must often have been commingled sentiments.

The character of this poly-volumed *Manuel* was determined by the founder of the series, the late M. Auguste Molinier. It was primarily intended to be a critical catalogue of the narrative sources of French history, with some notice of those documentary and literary sources which were thought to be "indispensable", and which were somewhat unscientifically denominated "indirect". The bibliographical determinism of M. Molinier has obviously embarrassed M. Hauser in the arrangement and treatment of his material, but he has nevertheless, for the most part, loyally adhered to the original scheme. But the categories of medieval historical bibliography cannot be adapted to modern history. M. Bourgeois, in the volumes of this series devoted to the seventeenth century, frankly broke away from the original plan, being compelled so to do by the overwhelming mass of archive material in modern times, and the slight value of narrative material in comparison with it. It seems a pity that, for the sake of a theoretical unity of arrangement, which is manifestly inadequate for the epoch with which he is dealing, M. Hauser should have permitted himself to have been so inhibited in his labors.

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Yet in spite of these self-imposed obligations of method M. Hauser has wonderfully succeeded in the accomplishment of his task. One knows him for an almost impeccable workman. This volume is no mere bibliographical finger-post; rather it is an *avant-courier* for the student of the history of the reign of Henry IV. of France. It seems hypercritical to notice omissions in so excellent a work. But I find no mention of the *Journal d'un Curé Ligueur (1588–1605)*, edited by Barthélemy (Paris, 1888); nor of *Notes on the Diplomatic Relations of England and France, 1603–1688*, by Professor Firth and Mrs. S. C. Lomas (Oxford, 1906). The appendix to the 37th *Report* of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, pages 180–197, also contains a list of the French ambassadors in England between 1519 and 1714, with references to manuscripts in the French archives, prepared by M. Baschet. Lists of transcripts of the correspondence of these ambassadors (to be found in the Record Office) are contained in *Reports*, 40–47, of the Deputy Keeper.

From the preface we learn that this book was completed before the war. In fact, it is dated August 1, 1914, from Dijon, perilously near the frontier. The Great War delayed publication for nearly a year, for M. Hauser under date of June 10, 1915, has added a second preface which is part of the cry of scholarship the world around:

> La guerre n'a pas seulement troublé le travail scientifique, elle a momentanément suspendu, en France du moins, le travail des éditeurs. Pendant quelques mois, elle a même empêché la publication de la plupart des périodiques. Elle a supprimé toutes relations, même intellectuelles, avec les états belligérants. Nos bibliothèques ont cessé de recevoir les livres et les revues de nos ennemis. C'est, croyons-nous, la première fois dans l'histoire moderne qu'une lutte entre peuples revêt ce caractère inexpiable, s'étend jusqu'aux domaines de la science et de la critique. Le monde pensant est vraiment déchiré en deux parts. . . . Et tandis que les uns combattent, les autres, ceux qu'un sort jaloux retient au foyer, se disent que le devoir est de consacrer leurs forces intellectuelles à des oeuvres d'une utilité pratique immédiate. Pour s'intéresser encore à un livre comme celui-ci, il faut songer à la paix future, et la nécessité de maintenir, dans une Europe rénovée, le prestige scientifique de notre France.

There is the true patriotism of scholarship.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

The English Factories in India, 1651–1654: a Calendar of Documents in the India Office, Westminster. By WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1915. Pp. xxxix, 324.)

IT is fortunate that the Original Correspondence series at the India Office is so full for this period, as there are no documents for these years in any record office in India. The material as a whole can be analyzed under several main headings, though the chronological arrangement and the variety of interests often touched on in a single despatch require

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a careful study of the great majority of the two hundred odd documents. For this work Mr. Foster's compact introduction and the excellent index are of value. In general, as volume after volume of this remarkable series appears, the reader who compares the essential characteristics of Anglo-Indian documents in the later eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries with the letters of the seventeenth century cannot fail to wonder at the loss of naturalness on the part of the writers in the more recent century and a half. We gain a more intimate view from the sea-captains and commercial agents of the Stuart period than from the statesmen, generals, and bureaucrats of the Hanoverians. The earlier papers give not only a more human view but in many respects a wider, if more detailed, understanding of the facts in the case. Furthermore one has an impression of sincerity that is often lacking in some of the more philanthropic messages of the great governors. Yet this particular volume contains perhaps less material of this sort than some of its predecessors; and there is a vast amount of business figuring that is now chiefly valuable to the student of detailed commercial operations and the historian of the Anglo-Indian merchant marine. It is unnecessary at present to write much of such matters, particularly as in previous notices of this series the importance and quality of this aspect have already received attention. Yet as the Stuart period is usually regarded as the age of the joint-stock company it is worth while to note the vigorous attempts of one group of directors to restore the practice of a regulated company. This was perhaps stimulated by the divisions and intrigues that gained among the officers of the company as civil dissensions continued in England.

Of a different character is the campaign for business expansion and financial advantage in Persia. It was a renewal of an old policy and also a challenge to the Dutch. Indeed for a time Russian ambassadors, an envoy of Charles II. of England seeking a loan, agents of the East India Company, and Portuguese and Dutch representatives bring their rivalries to the court of Shah Abbas. The outbreak of the Anglo-Dutch War in Europe was the signal for open hostilities in the Persian Gulf and along the coasts of India. A number of naval engagements took place and for a time trade was seriously damaged; this was particularly so in agencies on the west coast though on the east coast the Dutch practically cut off all communications for many months. The restoration of peace marked the end of disputes which had lasted for more than half a century. It also quite definitely stimulated the desire of the English to gain a permanent fortified base of their own, preferably on the west coast. Bombay is mentioned for the first time in this connection, and also the possible acquisition of a post from the Portuguese on the southeast coast of Africa. The most significant phrase is that the company ought to "procure a nationall interest in some towne in India to make the scale of trade for those parts".

Throughout the whole period there were frequent quarrels between

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agents of the company, and at times, notably at Madras, factional struggles between native parties and castes created much disturbance. Naturally the old fights with local governors to secure relief from petty exactions continued; and envoys were often occupied at the imperial court itself in gaining special permits or seeking redress in long-drawn negotiations which required a liberal sprinkling with bribes and presents of all sorts. In short the documents give light on a sharp European struggle while they reveal the methods of Asiatic commercial diplomacy.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

Keigwin's Rebellion (1683–4): an Episode in the History of Bombay. By RAY and OLIVER STRACHEY. [Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, vol. VI.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1916. Pp. xv, 184.)

OF all the results from the great revival of interest in colonial affairs which the last quarter of a century has revealed, none has been of more interest than the re-discovery of the East India Company as a subject for historical inquiry. From the days of Bruce and Orme and Mill to those of Hunter a vast amount was written on the subject of the English in India, some of it very good, part of it excellent, much of it very bad; all of it devoted, in a surprising degree, not to the beginnings of English adventure but to the native history and to the later English advance. In general the history of the English in India seemed to begin with Clive and end with the Sepoy Mutiny. And while there were exceptions, and notable exceptions, to this rule, it was that period of almost precisely a century which absorbed by far the greater part of attention from historians.

More recently the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have begun to come into their own. To this result the labors of Birdwood and the publication of the Letters of the East India Company's servants have undoubtedly been a powerful stimulus. Economic, or rather commercial, history has contributed to the same result and, besides the labors of French and German scholars, such work as that done under Professor Cheyney's direction in this country has been a not inconsiderable factor in opening up this field. How untrodden are its paths is revealed in the first page of the preface of this study of Keigwin's rebellion, and no ambitious historical student eager for unworked archives can read without envy the list of virtually untouched manuscripts here recorded.

The authors of this little monograph are to be congratulated not merely in their choice of a subject but in their method of approach and presentation. In itself the revolt against the East India Company authorities which took place in 1683 under the leadership of Captain Richard Keigwin was not an earth-compelling event. Neither was its hero from the day when he arrived in Bombay as a "free planter" (1676) to the day when he "followed his bags of gold on board the

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Charles the Second", "as Impudent as hell" in Josiah Child's somewhat vigorous modern phrase, to be compared with men like Pitt or his fellow-interlopers in his influence on the development of English interests in India. His picturesque career, which began with the Dutch War of 1666, continued with his share in the capture of St. Helena in 1673, where his daring exploit is still perpetuated in the name of Keigwin's Rock, which he scaled at the head of his landing party, and ended in his death during the attack on St. Christopher's in 1690, forms, indeed, an entertaining narrative. But about his seven years of life in India the authors have constructed an account of the company, its managers, especially the two Childs, its conduct, its environment, and its failures and successes, which is not merely extraordinarily illuminating but of great human interest. Something it lacks, or seems to lack, of a wider historical setting; but within its limits it is a model monograph. The peculiarly intimate knowledge of the characters and circumstances of the events which it narrates, and its readable quality, which does not disdain even an allusion to Mr. Arnold Bennett's labors in the social history of the Five Towns, make it a refreshing contrast to much other work of like scope but different character which takes its scholarship far too seriously.

W. C. Abbott.

The Silesian Loan and Frederick the Great. By the Rt. Hon. Sir Ernest Satow, G.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1915. Pp. xii, 436.)

The Silesian Loan Case was not only an extremely interesting episode, or series of episodes, in the diplomatic relations of Great Britain and Prussia between 1734 and 1756, but it is a landmark in the development of the doctrines of reprisals, contraband, and the status of private property at sea during war. In Carlyle's *Frederick the Great* appears the best-known account, but it is full of inaccuracies. All works upon international law treat of the subject, Martens in his *Causes Célèbres du Droit des Gens* (second ed., 1856, II. 97–169) printing the two most important documents bearing upon it, the Memorial of Cocceji to Frederick, and the Report of the Law Officers of the Crown. The latter became in many respects, particularly through the reception of the doctrines of the Consolato del Mare as to enemy property at sea, the basis of the case-law and prize procedure of the United States. This document has recently been reprinted by Mr. Thomas Baty in his *Prize Law and Continuous Voyage*. With these exceptions the mass of documents bearing upon the subject has remained somewhat inaccessible. Sir Ernest Satow has rendered a considerable service not only in reprinting the two *pièces de résistance* with extracts from other printed papers, but in addition he has unearthed from the archives of the Foreign Office more than a hundred documents never before printed. These, supple-

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mented by the results of researches at the Hague, have enabled the author to assemble as nearly complete a collection as could be made, omitting the manuscript resources at Berlin and Paris, which archives do not seem to have been drawn upon. Preceding the documents is a very careful narrative, in which precision of statement supplants that literary charm which might have inhered in the subject.

The Silesian loan was incurred by the Emperor Charles VI., who borrowed £250,000 from British subjects under license from George II. in 1734, giving as security for the interest an hypothecation of his Silesian revenues, and as security for the principal, maturing finally in 1746, a mortgage upon the imperial estates in Silesia. No interest was paid during the lifetime of the Emperor. Frederick the Great, becoming master of the territory, attempted to evade payment, and during the war between England and France, 1744–1748, threatened to confiscate the loan as against the English holders as an act of reprisal for the treatment accorded Prussian ships by the British, claiming a violation of verbal promises made at the beginning of the war, and subsequent infractions of Prussian neutral rights by an undue extension of the contraband list, and by the refusal of Great Britain to recognize the principle that free ships make free goods. Prussia further claimed that the decisions of British prize-courts "could not constitute any right or prejudice between two sovereign powers". The answer of Great Britain, embodying the Report of the Law Officers of the Crown, took the position that the British prize-court was governed by the law of nations (a doctrine lately affirmed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council), that this court was open to aggrieved neutral subjects, and that the British practice as to contraband and enemy property accorded with the law of nations. The author throws much new light upon the legal doctrines involved (there is an excellent chapter on prize-law in the first half of the eighteenth century) and greatly elaborates the diplomatic setting. The little-known mission of Legge in 1748 to propose an alliance between Prussia and Great Britain is well described, as are the somewhat equivocal actions of France, which having been asked in February, 1753, by Great Britain to exercise good offices with Prussia, attempted to play the part of an arbitrator. Direct negotiation led to the treaty of Westminster, January 16, 1756, by which a mutually satisfactory adjustment was made. Frederick managed to scale down the debt while the British sacrificed no principle for which they had contended. Rarely does there appear so scholarly a monograph upon such a special field in international legal history. It is admirably conceived and carefully executed.

Jesse S. Reeves.

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The Making of British India, 1756–1858. Described in a Series of Dispatches, Treaties, Statutes, and Other Documents, selected and edited with Introductions and Notes. By RAMSAY MUIR, Professor of Modern History, University of Manchester. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XXVIII.] (Manchester: University Press; London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1915. Pp. xiv, 398.)

THIS collection of extracts from printed documents relating to Anglo-Indian history is worthy of notice because of the excellent methods employed, because of the limitations of the book as a whole, and because of the usefulness of the material provided. The century which ended with the disappearance of the East India Company is very crowded. The proportion of introductions and notes to documents is by no means excessive and yet the editor has along certain main lines succeeded in supplying a sufficient narrative basis for an intelligent use of the material that he has selected. A general introduction is followed in each of the eleven chapters by a few pages of special explanation of the documents and general features of the particular period to be surveyed. The extracts are rarely more than a few pages in length and consequently by judicious selection and skillful arrangement the effect of an almost connected story is clearly suggested. The editorial work in this respect is distinctly clever.

The matter of proportions is, however, open to debate. Evidently Professor Muir believes that the work done by Clive, Hastings, Cornwallis, Shore, and Wellesley deserves more careful study than does the period from 1807 to 1858 when the real expansion of British rule took place. In this view he has been probably influenced by two other considerations. The latter half of the eighteenth century has been the period for special study in England and the documentary material is on the whole better and more available. But in this connection we should notice the deliberate omission of practically all reference to the Mutiny. This decision is defended (p. 379) because "it [the Mutiny] did not add to the territorial power of the Company, or alter its system of government". Even so, but the deeper causes of the Mutiny go far to exhibit certain fundamental characteristics of British rule and many features of Indian society; and the company finally staggered off the stage in that tragedy. A further point is the lack of material from any but official sources. The view is almost uniformly that of the English administrator in India. His power, his sincerity, and his mistakes are made clearer by the output of his governmental mind; but if we except such important matters as the land-tax, settlement in Bengal, the abolition of *sati*, and Dalhousie's last minute in 1856, the book is almost barren for the study of economic conditions in India. Naturally we also fail to get a clear picture of the social basis of administration. In

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other words this book marks no advance from the conventional viewpoint regarding the English in India. Their work remains eminently difficult, usually splendid, and thoroughly respectable and unselfish. Even the criticisms are those which are to be found in almost any general history of India.

But certainly any such limitations of this useful book arise partially from the character of the material which is most available in printed form. On the whole these sources are increasing in welcome if somewhat slow fashion, but undoubtedly much remains to be done, particularly in the period between Lord Minto and Lord Dalhousie. But Sir George Forrest and Mr. S. C. Hill for the earlier period, and occasional editors and biographers such as Arnold, for Dalhousie, and the editor of the *Wellesley Despatches,* have given us admirable excursions into the masses of unprinted material which await exploration. As a whole, therefore, these extracts are bound to be of value to many students who may not have the time or opportunity to go to the larger collections; and in a technical way the book is excellent.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

The Evolution of Prussia: the Making of an Empire. By J. A. R. MARRIOTT, M.A., Fellow and Modern History Tutor, Worcester College, and C. GRANT ROBERTSON, Fellow of All Souls and Modern History Tutor, Magdalen College. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1915. Pp. 459.)

THIS is the first of a series of *Histories of the Belligerents* planned by the Clarendon Press. By a rather brilliant *tour de force* the authors have sought to give within the compass of 450 pages the main outlines of the story of the rise and development of Brandenburg-Prussia and the later Prussianization of Germany under the Hohenzollern dynasty. They begin with Albert the Bear and close nominally with the fall of Bismarck, though a brief epilogue indicates the most important events from 1890 to 1914. Such a work is necessarily sketchy, but the lines of the sketch, as to relative emphasis, interpretation, and condensation of statement, are firmly and effectively drawn. This is particularly true of the first third of the volume, on the development of Brandenburg-Prussia to the death of Frederick the Great. The Great Elector "surpasses all the rulers of his house save one, Frederick II., and the difference between these two is the difference between great talents and indisputable genius" (p. 96). Frederick William I.'s reign was the period "in which all the most unlovely and forbidding qualities were scourged into the kingdom. . . . His court was a barrack, his kingdom a combination of the farm-yard and the parade-ground, and he viewed both with the eye of the non-commissioned officer and the stud-groom" (pp. 101–102).

The authors have aimed to be guided by their regard for historical scholarship rather than by their British sympathies. Though their point

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of view and some of their phrases have been influenced naturally enough by what has been said and done since August, 1914, though they attribute to the Great Elector conscious and consistent Treitschkean motives which he probably did not have, though they criticize Frederick the Great for failing to appreciate, as they think, the new eighteenth-century spirit in France, and though they exaggerate the hatred with which he was regarded in the latter part of his life, their account, on the whole, is admirably objective and unbiassed. In passing ethical judgments, however, on the Hohenzollerns of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it would have been fairer and more historically-minded to test them by the standard of their own age rather than by what has come to be regarded by English-speaking people as a twentieth-century standard of political morality. It is only fair, that is, to suggest that Frederick the Great, for instance, was little better and little worse in his political morals than Catherine II. or than many of his less-famous contemporaries who were less successful in their results but not less unscrupulous in their aims and methods.

Where the authors touch upon institutions they appear to follow the somewhat antiquated accounts of Bornhak, Isaacsohn, and Droysen rather than the more recent studies of Hintze, Koser, Hass, Holtze, Stölzel, and others. Thus, in summing up (pp. 66–67) the internal administration from 1440 to 1618 it is misleading to speak of "the introduction of the Roman law by Elector Joachim I". The new council created in 1604 was not called a Staatsrat but a Geheimer Rat. It was not created so much to weaken the power of the Diet as to aid the elector in his foreign policy. This period does not mark "the waning of the power of the estates" but just the opposite.

In their otherwise excellent analysis of the characteristics of Hohenzollern rule the authors do not sufficiently emphasize two features which have been fairly characteristic of most of the Hohenzollerns of the last three centuries—their confidence in God and their work for the social welfare of their subjects. The Great Elector's remark, "I am convinced that I owe the preservation of my position and my territories to God, and next to God, to the standing army", was sincerely meant, and might have come just as well from the lips of any of his successors, except Frederick the Great. Similarly the Great Elector's zeal for the material welfare of his subjects, which he sought to promote by innumerable edicts, initiated a state policy followed fairly consistently by most of his descendants down to the state socialism of our own day.

The volume ought to prove a useful introduction to the study of Prussian-German history—a field where short works in English are scarce—and it affords a good brief background to one aspect of the present war. It is more concise and interpretative than Henderson's *Short History*, more consistent and readable than the piecemeal chapters in the *Cambridge Modern History*, and more extensive in treatment than Priest's *Germany since 1740*.

Sidney B. Fay.

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Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution. By THORSTEIN VEBLEN. (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. viii, 324.)

THIS book is a study from the standpoint of sociology of the complete and sudden transfer to Germany of the industrial and commercial processes developed in England since the Elizabethan age. The problem treated is that of the co-operation and mutual reaction of machine industry and a feudal, military, dynastic Imperial-State. What is the result when the modern economic order based on technological methods is amalgamated with a social and political order still essentially medieval?

The author begins his theme "doubtfully and far away" in the neolithic age, to show that the races of northern Europe were of the same hybrid stock and free borrowers. To this is added a discussion of borrowing by one group or nation from another. The people which develops anything does it in spite of all sorts of social inhibitions from existing wont and custom which hamper its uncompromised and logical acceptance. The borrowing nation takes it over and sets it in a new matrix where these hindrances are almost entirely lacking. It therefore reaches quickly in the borrowing nation a more perfect development and the borrowers receive in a single generation benefits and results not achieved by the parent nation in four generations, if ever.

The Industrial Revolution in England in its first one hundred years under free competition and a governmental laissez-faire policy gave England a considerable "depauperate" working population whose physical deterioration has affected later generations. She is not able to rid herself summarily of antiquated machinery and industrial plants suffering by depreciation from obsolescence. "The technological knowledge and proficiency gained by the community [England] in the course of modern times primarily serves, by right of ownership, the pecuniary gain of the business men in control and only secondarily contributes to the welfare of the population." The beneficiaries have developed an elaborate technique of consumption based on the social propriety of "conspicuous waste". It costs time and money to develop "a gentleman" and "the English today lead the Christian world both in the volume of their gentility and its cost per unit". In all this half-heartedly accepted order, England differs from the Continental peoples and especially from the Germans who have "retained conventional virtues in a more archaic material civilization. Hence a discrepancy in 'culture' that has become irreconcilable."

A chapter on the dynastic state traces its development from primitive insubordination and anarchy to group solidarity which approves the aggrandizement of its accredited leader to the point of irresponsibility. A euphemism makes subjection bear the name of "duty", "flunkeyism dignified with a metaphysical nimbus".

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In the nineteenth century, Germany, a community habituated to a belief in divine rights and led by a state "with no cultural traits other than a medieval militarism resting on a feudally servile agrarian system", took over the English technological system. The new business development made for the larger Germany. The state removed the barriers while rigidly pruning back inimical political popular sentiment and distributing favors to the masses by class legislation. The industrial leaders did not need to spend their time on being gentlemen. That social position was already monopolized by the feudal nobility whose traditions made it easy for the Imperial-State to organize them as military specialists. Military traditions, not wholly Prussian, were carefully kept and discipline and tutelage fitted well into the scheme of a large-scale production. But the result is to leave Germany as a cultural community "in an eminently unstable transitional phase". She has not forgotten enough of the old nor fully assimilated western civilization. The Imperial-State has directed the new development into a new form of the old dynastic state aggression. It can now neither get along with nor without machine industry. The present offensive defensive war for dominion may give personal government reprieve, and "the movement for cultural reversion", even if it nominally loses, stands to gain "by the arrest of Western civilization at large".

Professor Veblen is, nevertheless, mildly optimistic as to the results of the war but with no constructive suggestions as to the new order.

It is a brilliant book and well worth reading. The grim, sardonic, subtle, scholastic irony on every page including the foot-notes conveys more than the author seems free to say and more than any brief notice can reproduce. It is an objective application of antidotes for self-satisfaction in any national group.

GUY STANTON FORD.

The English Catholic Revival in the Nineteenth Century. By PAUL THUREAU-DANGIN, Secrétaire Perpétuel de l'Académie Française. Revised and re-edited from a translation by the late Wilfred Wilberforce. In two volumes. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1916. lxiv, 468; xv, 642.)

AMONG histories of religious movement and religious thought in England M. Paul Thureau-Dangin's *The English Catholic Revival in the Nineteenth Century* must take a first place by reason of its comprehensiveness and of the thoroughness with which the work has been done. The greater part of these two volumes is devoted to the Oxford movement and the Ritualistic movement in the Church of England that developed out of the Oxford movement. But in recounting, always with sympathy and always with clear and painstaking detail, the history of these two movements, M. Thureau-Dangin also tells to a considerable extent the history of the revival of the Catholic Church in England—

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the revival that came after Catholic enfranchisement in 1829, and particularly in the period after 1850 during which Wiseman, Manning, and Vaughan were successively archbishops of Westminster. In his long introductory chapter—one of the most strikingly interesting chapters in a book that holds interest from the introduction to the closing pages—M. Thureau-Dangin describes the position of the Roman Catholic Church in England at the opening of the nineteenth century, and contrasts it with the position in 1899, the year when the introductory chapter was written. There are no exact statistics of the strength of the English adherents of the old faith in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Before the Irish immigration to England began to assume large proportions in the thirties and the forties, Catholicism was mainly represented by the English families, mostly of the landed classes, which had steadfastly adhered to the old faith from the Reformation. Some of these Catholics were still living in retirement and social isolation on their country estates. Others were scattered, and merged in the populations of the large cities. All told, they did not, in 1814, exceed 160,000. England was then a mission. There were no bishops and only four vicars apostolic, with about four hundred priests, who lived as unobtrusively as possible, "remembering all too well the days of persecution, and scarcely daring to wear a dress which would reveal their character". Chapels were few, without exterior distinction, and hidden away in the most obscure corners of the towns. M. Thureau-Dangin's introduction was written nearly half a century after the regular hierarchy in England had been re-established in 1850, when Wiseman was made Archbishop of Westminster, and England was divided into twelve Roman Catholic sees.

At the time M. Thureau-Dangin wrote there were a million and a half adherents of the old faith in England, exclusive of those in Ireland and Scotland; and in place of the four vicars apostolic and their four hundred priests of the mission period of the first three decades of the nineteenth century, there were seventeen bishops, an archbishop, three thousand priests, and religious orders of every kind. How this revival was brought about, what it has meant religiously, politically, intellectually, and socially for the adherents of the old faith, what part Wiseman had in it, what part Manning had in it and how it was aided first by the Oxford movement, and later by the Ritualist movement, form one of the most interesting and enlightening portions of M. Thureau-Dangin's book. It is more than the history of a religious movement. It contributes a part, and an important and essential part, to the general history of England in the era which began in 1832, and ended with the beginning of the Great War. In no existing volume has this history been more faithfully recounted. What may be described as the other two divisions of the book—the history of the Oxford movement and the history of the Ritualistic movement—are equally well done, and are even more characterized by comprehensiveness than the history of the

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new era in England for the Roman Catholics. There can scarcely be a source for the history of these movements that has escaped the attention of M. Thureau-Dangin. The actual literature of the Oxford movement—the tracts themselves, the letters and memoirs of Newman, Pusey, Manning, Ward, and of all the other men who were directly or indirectly concerned in it, and the newspapers and reviews of the period—have all been drawn upon, and the abundance of material they offered admirably interwoven into the text. Much the same can be said concerning the history of the Ritualistic movement; and here court records, debates in Parliament, bills that failed and bills that passed, such as the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1870 and the records of the English Church Union and the Church Association, have been drawn upon, in addition to sources similar to those used in the history of the Oxford movement.

M. Thureau-Dangin's sympathies are almost lovingly with the adherents of the old faith in the new era that opened in 1850. His sympathies are also with Newman and Manning, and other men of the Oxford movement; and almost equally with the clergy of the Established Church who were of the Ritualistic movement, particularly with those who suffered at the hands of the Church Association. Another characteristic of the book that ensures it a permanent value is the series of pen-portraits of the men of all three movements. These are admirable; and it is not always necessary to accept to the full M. Thureau-Dangin's estimates of men to appreciate the portraits drawn of them. One lack of the book is obvious. There is no bibliography. It would have been an unusually long one had it been added; but the wide range of sources on which M. Thureau-Dangin has so carefully drawn makes the lack of a bibliography all the more noticeable.

The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O. By Beckles Willson. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. xi, 543; 533.)

Strathcona and the Making of Canada. By W. T. R. Preston. (New York: McBride, Nast, and Company. 1915. Pp. xi, 324.)

Following quickly upon the death of Lord Strathcona these two lives have appeared, Mr. Willson's a eulogy, Mr. Preston's the opposite. Mr. Willson thinks that Lord Strathcona was so great a factor in the life of Canada that his name was "long synonymous throughout the British Empire with Canada itself"; Mr. Preston considers Lord Strathcona an opportunist, bent on creating a fortune, the servant of great financial interests, the corrupter of political morality in Canada by the lavish use of money in elections. Mr. Willson has had the advantage of access to Lord Strathcona's papers and is, of course, highly official in tone; Mr. Preston writes as an outside critic who has lived

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through the events he describes. Mr. Willson is diffuse, in two volumes, Mr. Preston is brief and sometimes pungent.

Donald Alexander Smith, a penniless Scot with an education good for business purposes, went to Canada in 1838 and entered the service of the great Hudson's Bay Company, which promptly sent him to Labrador. There he remained for twenty-six years without returning to Scotland. He was efficient, honest, enterprising, and so absorbed in his tasks that he never felt boredom on that uninviting coast. He spent little, saved money, and invested it shrewdly. By 1865 we find him established at Montreal, already an important figure in financial circles. In 1869 the company which he served sold its proprietary interest in the Hudson Bay territory to the new Canadian federation for $1,500,000, but retained the right to vast areas of land. When there was trouble at what is now Winnipeg about the transfer to Canada a movement was set on foot to annex the whole territory to the United States, and urgent appeals were made to President Grant to save the liberties of the American settlers in the country by refusing to permit the transfer to Canada. The whole affair was so badly bungled by the Canadian authorities that it was necessary to send to the West a military expedition under the late Lord Wolseley. During the trouble Smith was of service as commissioner for the Canadian government and the incident marked his entrance to the world of politics.

His next great interest was in building railways. He joined Mr. J. J. Hill in acquiring the nucleus of what has become the Great Northern Railway and made a great fortune. In 1880 he became a leader in the company which built the Canadian Pacific Railway from ocean to ocean. During the period of railway enterprise he was a member of the Canadian Parliament and railways were his chief interest. In 1895, when already long past seventy, he entered upon the third great phase of his career and became the official representative of Canada in London. He possessed, as has been said of bishops, every virtue but resignation, for he clung tenaciously to office, and he was something of a Vicar of Bray, in that he supported now one party, now the other. He died in harness in 1913. He deeply loved being in the public eye. Every year he presided at the great banquet in London on July 1, the anniversary of the founding of the Canadian federation. There the present writer heard him speak for the last time, almost inaudibly, but still with striking acuteness of intellect, at the age of ninety-three, only a few months before he died. He had piled up colossal wealth and, when occasion required, he knew how to spend money freely. He was made a peer as Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, soon after going to London. He lived in considerable state both in London and in the country and also kept up two or three houses in Canada. He equipped at his own cost a troop of horse during the South African War; he spent $40,000 on a huge feast to celebrate his lord rectorship of the University of Aberdeen; he was chancellor of McGill University, Mon-

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treal, and gave it large sums; he helped to found a women's college and a great hospital in Montreal; he left half a million dollars to Yale University, and so on. Altogether a remarkable career.

But had he in his hands, in any real sense, "the making of Canada", to quote Mr. Preston's title-page? So many people have had to do with the supposed making of Canada that it is time the phrase itself was abandoned. To Mr. Preston he unmade Canada by debauching its politics and bringing in the reign of the great interests. Mr. Preston alleges that Strathcona exercised a sinister financial influence on both the Liberal and the Conservative parties in Canada, and his book is based chiefly on his own personal knowledge, as an official of the Liberal party, of the working of the power of money. Clearly he has a grudge against Lord Strathcona and probably reads a bad meaning into matters really quite innocent. But what he says is not to be wholly ignored. Personally Strathcona was, without doubt, an honorable man, but honorable men sometimes wink at dark things in politics from which they profit. It was easy to give money to a political friend and not to inquire how it was spent; or to give financial favors which implied political support by the man favored. To Mr. Willson, on the other hand, Strathcona is always right and his book is based chiefly on speeches and on letters by or to his hero. The big book lacks discrimination.

The truth about Strathcona appears to be that he was an able man who would have succeeded in anything which he attempted; that he had the virtues of tenacity, caution, and rectitude in business affairs and that, as he often saw much farther than his contemporaries, he won, by insight and patience, astounding success. He saw the real value of the great prairie country when even able men derided it as bleak and barren, and he understood what railways would do for it and also for those who built them. There is nothing to show that he was a statesman in the large sense of reading the vital needs of a political society or that he was prepared to face defeat and loss for the sake of high political ideals. His politics were the politics of material development, his utterances those of a safe political creed, content with things as they are. He was usually moderate and kindly towards opponents, and never at any time was other than master of himself. Living to such a great age he came to occupy a unique position not only in Canada but also in England, where even King Edward spoke of him as "dear old Uncle Donald". Many were his acts of kindness even to the unworthy, and he was sincerely religious. He was, however, not a great but only a successful man. He had no deep ponderings on the meaning of life or on the defects of society. He read few great books, thought no great thoughts. Had he not piled up a vast fortune he would be already forgotten like many other equally able men. It is safe to say that Mr. Willson has said of him the last word of appreciation and Mr. Preston the last word of censure.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

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The Balkans: a History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey. By NEVILL FORBES, ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, D. MITRANY, and D. G. HOGARTH. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1915. Pp. 407.)

WHEN the common cover is the only effective bond of union in the collaborated product of four authors, it may be affirmed that the maladjustment of style and matter to be expected in this sort of enterprise has exceeded the permissible limit. The preface offers an apology for the disjointed handiwork: "widely separated, engaged on other duties, and pressed for time, we have had no opportunity for interchange of views". Admitting the difficulty of co-operating under these circumstances the question may be asked: why co-operate at all? The answer is not far to seek. The book before us is a war-book, hurriedly put together by four scattered British students to meet an immediate demand of the British public for historical information concerning one of the focal interests of the present war, the Balkan Peninsula. Naturally enough the book presents the long story of the peninsula pretty consistently from a British angle, but with a degree of fervor varying from man to man. Nevill Forbes, the historian of Bulgaria and Serbia, is the most insular of the group of authors. His tale of Bulgars and Serbs is punctuated with sudden explosions of wrath against Britain's foes which we may assume he will be the first to regret when peace has again restored the disturbed balance of his soul. D. Mitrany, lord of the Rumanian destiny, is noticeably cooler than Nevill Forbes; and Arnold J. Toynbee, writing on Greece, has almost completely succeeded in banishing the special animosities of the moment from his pages. The palm for objectivity and serenity of outlook must, however, be accorded to D. G. Hogarth, in whose close-woven story of the rise and decline of the Ottoman power there does not appear as much as a faint edge of disdain born of the developments of the present war.

Since each author composed his section in proud ignorance and disregard of all the other sections, the contribution of each stands on its own merits and should in fairness be judged as a separate work. Mr. Forbes pursued as his ideal the old-fashioned chronology: facts are the article that he felt called on to deliver. Accordingly, parts of his work on Bulgaria read like monastic annals whose thin medieval stream has been hopelessly cluttered with data requisitioned at random from a well-stocked modern library. The Serb section, it should be stated, moves far more smoothly. But only when the author turns his attention to recent developments among Serbs and Bulgars does he project himself into the realm of reality, though even then the world which he evokes is rather the hectic product of the journalist's fevered brain than the patiently and steadily evolved organism of the historian. Mr. Mitrany's presentation of Rumania has a far more professional quality. Very capricious, however, is this author's practice of inclusions and omissions.

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For example, the Jews in Rumania are well known to be a portentous issue frequently made the occasion of international negotiations. Mr. Mitrany dismisses the matter in a foot-note (p. 298) with the remark that it is "too controversial to be dealt with in a few lines". Again. Rumania's conduct in the War of 1913, which even friends of the country have usually characterized as both foolish and treacherous, is buried under a denunciation of the improper activities of Austria (pp. 502–504). Can it be that these are complaisances by which the British Clio seeks to avoid giving offense in war-time? The really valuable contributions in this volume are supplied by Mr. Toynbee (Greece) and Mr. Hogarth (Turkey). These men, taking wise account of the imposed limitations of space, undertook to write not histories of their respective peoples but historical essays. They have been remarkably successful, composing sketches that are vivacious, sympathetic, and fairly bristling with original and penetrating interpretations of the Byzantine and Ottoman empires and of the two peoples that in the main supported these towering fabrics. Being profoundly convinced, Mr. Toynbee of the mental alertness of the Greek townsmen of our day and Mr. Hogarth of the solid virtues of the Anatolian peasantry, they clash in their estimate of the opponents of their respective clients, but it is an honest difference of opinion perfectly reasonable in this world of doubt and error. An interesting fact is that Mr. Toynbee more fervently than any of his collaborators looks forward to a Balkan federation as the solution of the present chaos. The intense animosities between race and race, which he acknowledges must be lived down before a practicable union can be realized, he hopes, somewhat fantastically, to see dispersed by the reimpatriated Greeks, Bulgars, Albanians, and Montenegrins who have been mentally made over in the course of an apprenticeship as emigrant laborers in the United States. Mr. Hogarth is apparently loath to see Turkey take its departure from this world, and, strange to say, quite as much on governmental as on racial grounds. He points out certain factors in the Ottoman situation and character that make the partition that seems to lie in the plans of the Allies not only undesirable but also very difficult. One need not agree with Mr. Toynbee's or Mr. Hogarth's estimate of the present and forecast of the future, but one will find their attitude throughout marked by good temper and inspired by practical and at the same time generous considerations.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

The Diplomatic Background of the War, 1870–1914. By CHARLES SEYMOUR, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. xv, 311.)

AMONG studies dealing with the general causes of the Great War this volume is in character and execution the most scholarly one that

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has come to the attention of the reviewer. It would be easy to enumerate books on this subject written more vividly and bearing more evident marks of intimate knowledge of the peoples and conditions with which the authors deal—such as Gibbons's *New Map of Europe,* Bullard's *Diplomacy of the Great War,* Allen's *The Great War,* and Davenport's *History of the Great War*—but if this is not the work of one with the obvious qualifications of traveller, correspondent, or resident abroad, it is clearly the result of serious and careful study by a writer having primarily the point of view of the trained historian, who has examined to advantage the sources and literature of the recent history of Europe. And there is besides what the critical reader is certain to desire and what he will vainly seek in most of the books so far written in this new field, a wealth of annotative and bibliographical information. A serviceable index is appended.

For the most part the study is what it purports to be, a history of European diplomacy in the last generation; and it affords, probably, one of the ablest brief accounts in English. More properly, I think, than Bullard, who took as his starting-point the Congress of Berlin, the author begins with the triumph of Bismarck in 1870. He maintains the immediate political results, prodigious as they were, to have been less important than the moral effects of the methods employed in the unification of Germany, which did not result from the application of liberal and nationalistic principles, as the earlier idealists had hoped, but, in direct contravention, through triumph of trickery and force, so that the German people afterwards came above all to venerate might and power. Bismarck's success in upholding the hegemony of Germany after 1870 was no less striking than that which he had previously achieved in its unification; and this lordship was maintained thereafter less obviously but with as real ability by William II., of whom there is striking characterization. There is an excellent account of the development of the Triple Alliance, of the Dual Alliance, and finally of the Triple Entente, as well as of the crises which arose after 1904 when Germany was endeavoring to reassert her primacy, which had been disturbed by the diplomatic revolution effected by Delcassé and Edward VII.

The narrative pertaining to the diplomacy and action immediately preceding the catastrophe is clear, decisive, and, I think, sound. The author asserts that Germany and Austria were determined to overthrow the settlement made by the treaty of Bucharest, and waited for an opportunity to attempt this. The Teutonic powers, he thinks, were convinced that Russia would not go to war in Servia's behalf, and when Russia made it plain that she would resist, Austria receded, whereupon Germany at once intervened decisively and forced the issue. Throughout the volume runs the central thesis that Germany's advance as a world power depended upon the maintenance of her primacy in Europe, and this position she was resolved at all costs to uphold.

The book is not without blemishes though relatively free from them.

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There is a certain amount of repetition which becomes unpleasant when employed in similes and striking expressions; occasionally there is statement which might better be conjecture; the name of the capital of Bosnia is given two different ways (pp. 244, 256); it is scarcely correct to say that Servia accepted absolutely eight of the ten demands of Austria (p. 258); the spelling of such names as Skobeleff and Sazonoff would be nearer the Russian if in translation the final consonant were not doubled (pp. 124, 261).

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

The Great War. By GEORGE H. ALLEN, Ph.D. With an Introduction by WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT. Volume I. *Causes of and Motives for.* (Philadelphia: George Barrie's Sons. 1915. Pp. xxx, 377.)

DURING the earlier months of the European war writing about it was necessarily for the most part hasty, partizan, and controversial; but with the lapse of some time and the continuous and increasing interest of so many people, better books have begun to appear. For the general causes of the conflict there are now Gibbons's *New Map of Europe* and Bullard's *Diplomacy of the Great War*; for the immediate causes and diplomatic correspondence Headlam's *History of Twelve Days* and Stowell's *Diplomacy of the War of 1914.* These books are informing and all of them meritorious, but each deals with some particular aspects of the entire subject. The publishers of the present work have designed a comprehensive popular history, beginning with the general and immediate causes of strife, which are dealt with in the volume here reviewed, to be followed by other volumes narrating the incidents and results of the struggle.

The publishers have executed their part of the task very creditably. The book is handsomely printed and finely made, though somewhat heavy to hold; and it is illustrated with nearly a hundred maps and photographs, some of the former, like that of the Bagdad railway and the distribution of Mohammedan populations, being excellent, many of the latter representing Teutonic personages. But it must be observed that Mr. Taft, whose name appears so prominently on the cover, has only contributed a pleasant introduction of a few pages, and that the publishers ascribe the author to the department of history in the University of Pennsylvania, with which institution his connection has been rather slight.

In the opinion of the reviewer Dr. Allen has done his work well. His account of the recent history of the world is, I think, the best brief account which has been written, and probably as useful as any which the general reader can obtain; though the Dual Alliance, the development of the Entente Cordiale, and the meaning and importance of Pan-Germanism are treated in a manner inferior to what one might expect. The character and purpose of the volume make it impossible that the

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story of the immediate causes of the war and the interplay of diplomacy in the last critical days should be as large or as minutely critical as the accounts given in Price, Stowell, or Headlam; but the narrative is very clear and fair, and apparently no happening of importance has been omitted. Here the author makes his contribution when he suggests the decisive importance of the acceptance or refusal by Austria of M. Sazonof's formula of July 30. The author defends the course followed by England, and affixes to Germany the blame for violation of the neutrality of Belgium. The direct responsibility for the great catastrophe he ascribes principally to the Teutonic nations, though he is less certain that they deliberately provoked a conflict than that they saw in the circumstances of 1914 a favorable opportunity to obtain without fighting that which they desired. In controverted matters both positions are properly stated, and he is at all times eminently fair and judicial.

Not only is the author a careful and capable writer, but an evident acquaintance with the places and peoples of Europe gives value and reality to his descriptions. I have noticed especially his comments upon Alsace-Lorraine, the account of the world's resources of iron and the position of Germany in respect thereof, the remark about the attitude of Germans toward foreign languages, the immense importance of German reforms in the nineteenth century, which he thinks only less momentous than those directly inspired by the French Revolution, the *bloc* in French politics, the electoral system in Prussian government, the progress of German agriculture, the relations of Germany and Russia in the early part of the Russo-Japanese War, the description of German newspapers, the estimate of the commercial importance of Constantinople as compared with its strategic value, the purpose of Abdul Hamid, the relations of Croatia with Hungary, political parties in Italy, and the meaning and consequences of militarism wherever it becomes a dominating force. The account of the negotiations between Austria and Italy in 1914–1915 is excellent.

The unpleasant but necessary task of pointing out errors is not in this case an onerous one. The Triple Alliance was formed in 1882 not in 1883 (p. 31); the English electoral reform law of 1867 extended the franchise not merely to the better class of laborers in the towns (p. 35) but to tenant farmers as well; I doubt whether decrease in German emigration had any connection with the growth of the German colonial empire (p. 122); "pan" is not a preposition (p. 125); the communication of Baron Greindl is not quite correctly summarized (p. 262); *Novoye Vremya* (p. 195) and the names of Count Szápáry (p. 233) and of M. Sazonof (p. 240) are not correctly spelled.

The writing is always clear, usually pleasant, and sometimes good, though there are not wanting slips and awkward expressions. If the remaining volumes are as good as this first one, both author and publishers will have performed a welcome service.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

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BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

American State Trials: a Collection of the Important and Interesting Criminal Trials which have taken place in the United States, from the Beginning of our Government to the Present Day. By JOHN D. LAWSON, LL.D. Volumes IV., V. (St. Louis: F. H. Thomas Law Book Company. 1915, 1916. Pp. xv, 879; xx, 943.)

THE last two volumes of this invaluable collection edited by Dr. Lawson are even more interesting than those which preceded them. The most conspicuous case there reported is the famous trial of Professor Webster for the murder of Dr. Parkman. This probably attracted more attention than any trial for murder in the United States before that of Guiteau, and since the guilt of the convict was subsequently established by his confession it is one of the best illustrations of the reliability of circumstantial evidence and its effectiveness as an instrument of justice. A long, although not a complete, bibliography has been added by the editor. It would have been well to have included the report of the proceedings on the hearing upon the petition for a writ of error and upon the application to the executive for a pardon. Dr. Putnam's description of the confession is an excellent illustration of the religious practices of the time. These, together with letters by the defendant to his counsel, in which he apologizes for his criticism of them upon the trial, and a letter by Attorney-General Clifford defending Dr. Parkman's character from the aspersions by the plaintiff's counsel, are to be found in the report published by Cockcroft which is mentioned in the bibliography of Dr. Lawson. In the biographical notice of Dr. Palfrey it would have been wise to have mentioned the only one of his writings that is still read, a *History of New England* during the colonial period. Not long after Webster's execution an advocate sought to make the testimony of a witness more impressive by proving that the latter was a Harvard professor. His opponent, General Butler, interrupted with the remark "we hung one of them the other day". Stendhal would have been fascinated by the trial of the Italian painter Lawrence Pienovi, who was convicted by a jury *de medietate linguae,* in New York in 1818, for biting off his wife's nose because of a jealousy which seems to have been based upon a sound foundation. The manners of the time are well illustrated by the testimony and arguments upon the trials of the South Carolina pirates, twenty-three of whom were convicted and hanged in 1718, not long after some of their crew had swaggered through some of the main streets of Charleston while they levied ransom for the lives of two leading citizens whom they had captured. There seems to be no reason, however, why the editor should have omitted parts of the reports of these cases, published in Howell's *State Trials.* He displays an unusual lack

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of care in his remark that this was "the first and oldest trial in America for piracy" (IV. 652). Howell also reports the previous trial of nine pirates in Massachusetts in 1704 at a vice-admiralty court over which Governor Dudley presided while his son acted as prosecutor. This Dr. Lawson seems to have subsequently discovered and to have consequently inserted in volume V. instead of in its more appropriate place, the pages just before the South Carolina cases.

The trials arising out of the killing of Lovejoy, when his defenders and assailants were successively acquitted, are valuable since the first editions of the same are scarce. They reveal a provocation which most historians ignore: Lovejoy was not lynched but shot while defending, with an armed force and with arms in his own hands, his printing-press from destruction, after one of the attacking crowd had been killed by Lovejoy's comrades while Lovejoy himself led a sally against one of the assailants, whom he tried to shoot. His previous untruthful abuse of the Roman Catholic religion in his St. Louis newspaper, from which quotations are made by Dr. Lawson, proves his love for notoriety and his fondness for insulting those who differed with him. Next to these trials is published the famous case of the fugitive slave Anthony Burns before Commissioner Loring in Massachusetts in 1854. In the other parts of the two volumes, instead of next to these where they properly belong, are the less-known criminal prosecutions of John and Sara Robertson, colored people of Massachusetts, who in 1819 were found guilty of kidnapping a negro girl from a family who had taken her from Alabama, and of Joseph Pulford in New York in the same year for an attempt to kidnap a black woman and sell her into slavery in Cuba. It would have been appropriate to insert with them other leading fugitive-slave cases and prosecutions for kidnapping blacks, or at least a reference to some of them. Such are the trial of Thomas Sims, a fugitive slave in 1851 before Commissioner George Ticknor Curtis in Massachusetts, who ordered him to be sent back to the South (Boston, 1851); the fugitive-slave cases in Pennsylvania in 1851 (*The Christiana Riot and the Treason Trials of 1851: an Historical Sketch*, by W. U. Hensel, Lancaster, Pa., 1911); the trial during the same year of Charles G. Davis, who was acquitted by Commissioner Hallett of the charge of aiding and abetting in the rescue of the fugitive Shadrach (Boston, 1851); the case of Henry Clay prosecuted in Illinois in 1862 under the state statute to prevent the immigration of free negroes into that state ("A Case under an Illinois Black Law", by J. N. Gridley, *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1912); the civil suit of Ruel Daggs against Elihu Frazier and others in the District Court of the United States in Iowa in 1850, when a verdict of $2900 damages was awarded against six defendants for rescuing and aiding in the escape of nine fugitive slaves who had escaped into Iowa from Missouri (Burlington, 1850); the trial in New York in 1850 of United States Deputy Marshal Henry W. Allen, who was acquitted at the recommendation of Judge

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Marvin upon the charge of kidnapping a colored man when acting under the fugitive-slave law (Syracuse, 1852). Interesting also is the trial in Maryland of William Lloyd Garrison when he was convicted, fined $100, and sent to jail under an indictment for a criminal libel on Francis Todd of Newburyport, Massachusetts, whom he charged with committing a crime by carrying a cargo of slaves from Baltimore to New Orleans (Boston, 1834).

The cases of Dred Scott (19 Howard 392), and Lemmon *v.* People (20 N. Y. 562, affirming 26 Barber 270), are probably omitted because they are so easily accessible in the official reports, but many interesting anecdotes about the actors in them might have been included. The trial of John Brown we presume will be published in a later volume.

The editor has very wisely taken three from Dr. Wharton's *State Trials* with that editor's notes.

The arrangement of the contents of the books seems to be modelled upon that of Tristram Shandy. It is neither chronological nor topical and appears to be haphazard. In the middle of volume IV. is Trevett *v.* Weeden, one of the first cases holding a statute to be unconstitutional, followed by the unsuccessful proceedings for the removal of the judges who made it. This is copied from the report in Chandler's *Criminal Trials.* Dr. Lawson repeats Chandler's mistake in writing the name of the defendant as *Wheedon* and in altering the punctuation of the title of General Varnum's pamphlet. He omits in the bibliography any reference to the *Providence Gazette* of October 7, 1786, and the *American Museum,* V. 36, as well as to the reports in Professor James B. Thayer's *Cases on Constitutional Law,* I. 73, and Coxe, *Judicial Power and Unconstitutional Legislation,* p. 223. An historical note referring to the other early cases upon the subject would have been very convenient to the reader and, since they have been so often cited, easy for Dr. Lawson to have compiled.

The biographical notes show more care and research than do those in the previous volumes. That of William M. Price of New York is especially interesting (p. 360). That of Oakey Hall might well have been longer and mentioned his acquittal of a charge of complicity with the embezzlements by the Tweed Ring.

ROGER FOSTER.

Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1619–1658/59. Edited by H. R. MCILWAINE. (Richmond, 1915, pp. l, 283.)

Of 333 pages in this volume, fifty are occupied with introductions, 150 with a full and elaborate index to the whole series of the Burgesses' journals. Of that series, begun a dozen years ago, this is the thirteenth and concluding volume. Mr. John P. Kennedy, the predecessor of Dr. McIlwaine as librarian of the Virginia State Library, and to whose enterprise the inception of the series was due, began with the issue of the journals for 1773–1776, the latest in chronological order, and worked

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backward. This was because that latest material was all known and readily accessible, whereas the material for the earliest years of the House of Burgesses was little known, and its collection and preparation was a work of time and difficulty, which could be postponed if one wished to show immediate fruits of the undertaking. Now that the whole is completed, it constitutes an achievement of which the state and the State Library may well be proud; for it much more than doubles the amount of printed original material on the colonial history of Virginia, the scholarship of Dr. McIlwaine's editing is all that could be desired, and in mechanical execution the volumes are models of beauty. In a sense they are *too* handsome. One such series is a joy to look at; but no one could recommend state legislatures to make a practice of spending so much money upon paper and binding and handsome record type, when an economical management of these details would give the world of historical students twice as much material for the same appropriation. Yet let us be grateful for one fine and stately example; at any rate its beauty is not, as in some American instances, out of proportion to the intrinsic value of the text.

Formal journals of the House of Burgesses as a separate body begin in 1680, in a manuscript series at the Public Record Office in London extending almost complete from that date to 1732, followed by a printed series in Virginia extending almost complete from 1732 to 1776. For the period from 1619 to 1658/9, as for the first twenty years (1659–1679) of the last preceding volume, we have almost no formal journals of the Burgesses, or even fragments of documents bearing precisely that character. Dr. McIlwaine has supplied their place by printing (pp. 1–131) such papers of the House of Burgesses, or of the General or Grand Assembly as a whole, as are extant and have been found by him. These include petitions, statements, and letters sent by the House or by the Assembly to the authorities in England, communications made to the Assembly, and orders of the Assembly—as distinguished from the laws, of which Hening printed nearly all. The most notable of such documents, still, is that report of the first General Assembly, of 1619, which Secretary John Pory sent home to the authorities of the Virginia Company, and which is still preserved in the Public Record Office and has often been printed. Papers of some twenty-two other sessions follow, extending through the periods of the Company, Charles I., the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate, and derived from the British repository named, the Bancroft transcripts in the New York Public Library, the *Virginia Magazine of History*, Hening, Neill, Stith, Burk, the pamphlet called the *Colonial Records of Virginia*, and manuscripts in the Library of Congress, especially volume III. (unfortunately never yet printed in its entirety) of the "Records of the Virginia Company". In the case of the pieces from the Bancroft transcripts, the *Virginia Magazine*, and Neill, the editor ought to have given specific references to the original sources, still accessible, from which each was derived.

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Though much of this material for the period of Virginia history before the Restoration is already well known, much of it is new, and a valuable contribution to our knowledge of events. To our knowledge of the constitutional history of the legislature and the history of its procedure the contribution is less than if we had a series of formal journals; yet the course of development can often be inferred. Thus, perhaps from 1638, apparently from the session of 1650/1, certainly from that of 1654/5, the House of Burgesses and the Council sat separately. The journals of the Council, much less voluminous than those of the Burgesses, are to follow, and will doubtless add proportionately to our knowledge.

Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century: Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration. By HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON, Professor of American History, University of California. [University of California Publications in History, vol. III.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1915. Pp. x, 501.)

PROFESSOR BOLTON'S characterization of the present volume as "not a history . . . rather, a collection of special studies, closely related in . . . subject-matter, and designed to throw light upon a neglected period in the history of one of the most important of Spain's northern provinces" is a modest summing-up of an important piece of work.

The principal divisions are : I. A General Survey, 1731–1788, which summarizes the general history of Texas during the period indicated; II. The San Xavier Missions, 1745–1758; III. The Reorganization of the Lower Gulf Coast, 1746–1768; IV. Spanish Activities on the Lower Trinity River, 1746–1771; V. The Removal from and the Reoccupation of Eastern Texas, 1773–1779.

One of the most satisfying characteristics of the book is the sharpness of its geographical definition: the clearness and definiteness with which eighteenth-century activities are interpreted in terms of twentieth-century geography. Particularly is this true of the San Xavier mission group, in the fixing of whose sites Professor Bolton is a pioneer. Part II., it is made clear, concerns chiefly the country about Rockdale, in the region now termed Central Texas; part III., the Gulf country between and including Matagorda Bay and the Rio Grande, inland as far as Goliad and Laredo; part IV., the low, geologically young region in the vicinity of Houston; and part V., the part of eastern Texas lying about Nacogdoches.

Although these studies necessarily deal largely with the details of the ecclesiastical and civil occupation of the regions under discussion, measures for their defense, and their vicissitudes of fortune, yet these phases by no means exhaust the interest and value of the treatment. Civil and ecclesiastical administration, economic conditions, French-

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Spanish international relations, Spanish-Indian policy, receive their due share of attention; more notable than any of these, perhaps, is the contribution of the studies to ethnological knowledge.

The twelve maps and plans are an exceedingly valuable part of the work. Ten are copies of contemporary maps, ranging in date from 1717 to 1771; of these, eight have never before been published, being here reproduced from tracings or photographs of the originals in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, and the Archivo General, Mexico. The other two, a small map of the San Xavier missions and a large general reference map, are compilations of the author, based upon fresh source-material and upon personal explorations. The reference map shows the coast-line and drainage, but no relief features; it shows also missions, presidios, Spanish towns, a few French settlements in western Louisiana, Indian villages, explorers' routes, the distribution of the principal Indian tribal groups, and the boundaries of Texas as shown in the La Fora map of 1771.

It is to be regretted that the epoch-making map last mentioned, the eastern part of which is shown on page 382, is reproduced on so small a scale that the title and the *explicación* are illegible without a glass. In view of the intrinsic value of this map and of its close relation to Rubí's recommendations, which were so important as to form the basis of the *Reglamento de Presidios* of 1772, and which are dwelt upon at length in Professor Bolton's text, one feels that he should be able to study it in mental ease and physical comfort.

In the present condition of Southwestern historical work, it is precisely the type of intensive study embodied in this volume, based almost wholly upon hitherto unused material, which is most useful; as will be the case for many years to come. It is to be hoped that the other centres of early Spanish settlement, especially San Antonio, may soon be studied with the same painstaking care from material as fresh, by as able a student.

In this, as in other printed work, Dr. Bolton has shown himself the pathfinder; the worthy successor of the two lamented pioneers in scientific study of Southwestern historical study—Lester G. Bugbee, his predecessor, and George P. Garrison, his chief—in the University of Texas, where his own work in Southwestern history began, not quite fifteen years ago; a leader in the younger school of historical writers and students in this field.

The bibliography, although not annotated, is an excellent guide to material for the period under consideration; and there is an adequate index.

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The Life of Henry Laurens: with a Sketch of the Life of Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens. By DAVID DUNCAN WALLACE, Ph.D., Professor of History and Economics, Wofford College, S. C. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1915. Pp. xi, 539.)

IN biographical writing there is a happy mean between the work which buries the activities of the hero in a mass of contemporary conditions or events, and the book which too much subordinates the hero's historical setting to those intimate personal details having human interest but failing to reveal the hero's place in history. Mr. Wallace has not found this happy middle ground in the biographical field, and yet it seems ungracious in reviewing so thorough and scholarly a work to go the way of all the servile, mercenary Swiss of the critical art, and to find fault with what is after all a matter of artistic sense and not of scholarship. The author is beyond question too anxious to make use of all the by-products of his enterprise—as for example, in the most extreme case, at the end of chapter VII., where he throws in *gratis* two pages on the Cherokees with no other apparent reason than that he knew something about them—but, nevertheless, this very weakness has furnished us with a number of most interesting studies of Southern life and history in the colonial period. With great fullness of knowledge, he is thorough, judicious, and discriminating. At times he displays a little too much solicitude for the fair reputation of his hero, who is a worthy one, needing no apology if his whole career and not a few mere incidents of his life be considered. It would be hard to convince an English historian that Laurens's conduct was not bad in the matter of the Saratoga Convention, and in the Deane controversy his prejudices affected his conduct unworthily, though he was not a blind anti-Deane partizan like Richard Henry Lee. He does not come out heroically in his trying experience as prisoner in the Tower of London, yet on the whole he was a gentleman, high-minded, honorable, and worthy of his state and his country.

To the reviewer, the most interesting part of Laurens's career is that preceding the Revolutionary War, wherein one sees the process by which he became a Patriot rather than a Loyalist. This gouty, land-hungry planter and trader dealt in rum, beer, wine, deer-skins, rice, indigo, slaves, and indentured servants. He sent his ships to English ports, to Jamaica, Barbados, St. Kitts, and Antigua, to Lisbon, Madrid, Nantes, Bordeaux, and Rotterdam, or to Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. He showed a real solicitude for the welfare of his slaves, and gave up the slave-trade—though a little ashamed of his soft-heartedness—because he could not prevent the barbarous acts of the masters of the slave-ships. An excellent example of the best type of Southern planter, he was not by nature a rebellious subject. It was his boast at the end of his career that he had never intentionally violated

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the British navigation laws. From his earliest days he displayed a reasonable conservatism, which did not prevent his appearing among the leaders for constitutional freedom. He refused to vote for delegates to the Stamp Act Congress, not liking "those inglorious feats of riot and dissipation which have been performed to the Northward of us", but two years later his troubles with the collector of the ports and the vice-admiralty courts lighted in him deep fires of indignation against the violations of American liberty. Then, several years later, a long residence in England gave him the opportunity to discover how unworthy of ruling over any upright and moral people "were the English governing classes". He became convinced that "good health, a tolerable share of understanding, a sound conscience with good rice fields are preferable to the title of Sir Toby Tribble procured by bribery, perjury and fraud". Toward public office he was a stern Coriolanus, refusing to seek any man's favor. "Today a grand barbacue is given by a very grand simpleton", he writes, "at which the members for Charlestown are to be determined upon. Therefore, if you hear that I am no longer a Parliament man, let not your Excellency wonder, for I walk in the old road, give no barbacue, nor ask any man for votes." Gadsden, the "grand simpleton" and favorite of the mechanics of Charleston, was too radical to please Laurens. When the tea controversy arose Laurens took much the stand taken by Franklin, and would have had all the colonies pay for the Boston tea. "I won't say the people have proceeded too far in drowning and forcing back the tea . . . but at present I commend the proceeding at Charlestown in preference to all the rest; the consignees refuse the commissions; the people will not purchase the commodity." He liked the "constitutional stubbornness" in such conduct. Laurens would not approve the persecution of those who refused to sign the Association. Nothing could convince him, writes Mr. Wallace, that men whom he had known for life as good citizens were deserving of tar, feathers, confiscation, and banishment because they did not view the problems of the times just as he did. If his fellow-citizens were to rebel, he wished them to go about it soberly.

> Oh, that I could but effectually alarm my countrymen at this important crisis to be firm, frugal and virtuous, to put away from them all trifling amusements and to prepare to stand the shock of living in homely economy within themselves. . . . Mischief is hatching for us; the King is very angry—the whole ministerial band inimical to the liberties of America.

To the last he counselled his British friends to yield.

> Before the rising of your house repeal all those laws which are calculated for raising a revenue on the colonists without their consent. They are galling to the Americans, yield no benefit to the mother country, you disagree among yourselves concerning the *right*, and every man sees the inexpediency of such taxation.

He warned them that they were contending for "imaginary emolu-

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ment at the risque of thousands of lives and millions of pounds, possibly of the dignity of the British Empire". When the struggle was inevitable, he accepted it, and gave himself devotedly to its successful consummation.

There are several appendixes, the first of them being a sketch of the life of Lieut.-Col. John Laurens. An excellent bibliography and a useful index add to the value of the volume.

C. H. Van Tyne.

A History of Currency in the United States: with a Brief Description of the Currency Systems of all Commercial Nations. By A. Barton Hepburn, LL.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. xv, 552.)

The present volume is an enlargement of an earlier work published in 1903, entitled *History of Currency and Coinage in the United States and the Perennial Contest for Sound Money.* The chief additions consist of brief chapters on colonial and continental currency, and a series of chapters dealing with the inception and form of the Federal Reserve Act. The older work began with the enactment of the coinage system of 1876 and ended with the passage of the Gold Standard Law of 1900, while the new book begins with colonial currency and ends with the passage of the Federal Reserve Act. The central part of the book remains essentially unchanged although since 1903 several important works on the topics discussed have appeared. In the chapters dealing with the First and the Second Banks of the United States, for example, no use has been made of Catterall's notable monograph and Holdsworth's *First Bank of the United States* has been entirely neglected.

Mr. Hepburn's book is unique in that it covers the history of all forms of American currency—metallic money, government paper money, bank-notes, and even the more unusual forms of currency used in colonial times. Other writers in this field have limited their treatment to some one form of currency. Obviously the latter plan has distinct advantages from the viewpoint of the economist, since the principles underlying bank-note circulation are, for example, distinct from those underlying government paper money. Mr. Hepburn's probable reason for including all forms of currency in a single book is suggested by the subtitle of the earlier work: *The Perennial Contest for Sound Money.* It has been his purpose to write the history of the struggles to maintain a sound currency. Since the contest for sound money has at times concerned bank money, at other times, metallic money, and at still other times, government paper money, a warrant is found for a study of the entire field of currency.

Mr. Hepburn describes the chief events in this long contest with accuracy and impartiality. It can hardly be said, however, that he has added to our knowledge of the causes of the "perennial contest". Such economic explanations as are offered—for example, the confusion

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in the popular mind between the need for capital and the need for currency—have already been fully exploited. The author lays most stress on the importance of national control as a factor in determining the character of the currency and as an influence upon prosperity. This essentially sound idea is, however, at times, pressed to ridiculous extremes. He says, for example,

> It will appear in the following history that whenever national sentiment and national influence have moulded legislation and controlled the general government, enhanced prosperity has ensued, as during the periods of the first and second United States banks and that of the national banking system. Whenever the disintegrating influence involved in the doctrine of state sovereignty has been paramount, adverse conditions have prevailed, as during the period following the expiration of the charter of the first United States Bank (1811) until the second bank was well under way, and the period between the expiration of the charter of the second bank (1836) and the creation of the national banking system (1863).

This theory of prosperity is comparable in its simplicity to the theories of the protective tariff advocates who formerly in campaign arguments were accustomed to ascribe all industrial depressions to downward revisions of the tariff.

The part of the book to which the student will turn with greatest expectation consists of the chapters dealing with the establishment of the Federal Reserve Act. Mr. Hepburn was chairman of the Currency Commission of the American Bankers' Association and was intimately connected with the movement for a reform of the American banking system. The reader will find, however, nothing new in his account of the origin of the system or in his critical comment on the act. His chief criticism of the act—that the federal reserve notes are made obligations of the government—has already been amply discussed in other places.

In brief, then, the book may be said to be a useful compilation of the chief facts in the legislative history of the American currency based upon well-known authorities. Little attempt is made to get at the economic and social factors and no one of the chapters can be said to give the best available account of the subject therein treated. As a handy reference-book, however, covering a large field, it will serve a limited usefulness, to which the elaborate statistical tables will contribute no small part.

GEORGE E. BARNETT.

Papers of James A. Bayard. Edited by ELIZABETH DONNAN. [Eleventh Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1913, vol. II.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1915. Pp. 539.)

THIS volume of papers is a valuable and welcome contribution to the history of two important episodes in American history: the election of

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1800–1801, and the negotiations with Great Britain, 1813–1815; incidentally it casts side-lights on political and social conditions in both America and Europe. It cannot be said, however, that it makes any very significant revelations as to politics or diplomacy which will compel readjustments of existing views of persons or events. In this connection the admirable work of the editor, both in the foot-notes and in the preface, deserves special commendation.

More nearly than certain of his political contemporaries of much greater distinction, James A. Bayard deserves to be called typically American, the average citizen at his best. The upward expansion of his virtues as citizen, lawyer, and public servant never took him to the heights of personal heroism, of originality and vision, or of great statesmanship. The present volume shows, on the other hand, that the very balance of his mediocrity, when set alongside the erratic, frigid, or irascible brilliancy of men like Burr, John Quincy Adams, Clay, and Gallatin, became a national asset. His moderation, tenacity, and judiciousness as a non-Brahminical Federalist, his conscientious, though unenthusiastic, patriotism, his steady high-mindedness, and his warm-hearted loyalty to his family and his friends are abundantly illustrated in his letters, and justify the characterization of him by Dashkov, the Russian minister to the United States, as a man who belonged "à la classe la plus respectable des Américains, autant par ses talens que par le rang qu'il occupe dans la société" (p. 210).

The papers in this volume were derived chiefly from the collection of Richard H. Bayard, a great-grandson of James A. Bayard, and are supplementary to the smaller body of Bayard letters already published by the New York Public Library (1900) and the Delaware Historical Society (1901). They fall into four groups, not entirely segregated, of which only the last three are directly concerned with the senator-diplomat. About one-fifth of the volume, or nearly one hundred pages, is given up to fourteen letters of Robert Goodloe Harper to his constituents in the congressional district of South Carolina which he represented from 1795 to 1801. These summaries or expositions of the political and economic movements of that lively period of six years are interesting additions to similar discussions in the *Annals of Congress* and in the correspondence of other public men of the time.

The second group, comprising Bayard's letters from 1797 to 1813, deals with the same subjects as the Harper papers, but in less formal fashion, notably the Jefferson-Burr contest for the presidency, in which Bayard took a decisive part while keeping in touch with Alexander Hamilton, whom he calls "our *Father confessor* in politics" (p. 115).

The third section—much the largest, filling 180 pages—contains the correspondence of Bayard, both personal and official, from April, 1813, to May, 1815, including some new matter relating to confidential paragraphs in instructions to the American Commissioners to negotiate with Great Britain, *e. g.*, in relation to Canada (pp. 228, 263). Not quite

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one-third of the material in this section is the work of Bayard himself. Nine letters from the fertile-minded Erick Bollman to Bayard are here printed. Taken as a whole, this section of the volume is disappointing as a contribution to the materials for diplomatic history.

The last 132 pages of the *Papers* are devoted to the Diary which Bayard kept from the day he embarked for St. Petersburg, May, 1813, to November 17, 1814, a prosaic but not uninteresting chronicle containing much weather and many complaints about accommodations, accounts of many dinners, receptions, and calls in the Russian capital, and descriptions of places visited in St. Petersburg and vicinity and of the "terrific" overland winter journey of fifteen hundred miles to Amsterdam. This part of the volume suffers from inevitable comparison with the diary of Adams, covering the same period; to the student of European society, transportation, and public characters, it will furnish some material, but to the student of American history practically nothing at all.

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

William Branch Giles: a Study in the Politics of Virginia and the Nation from 1790 to 1830. By DICE ROBINS ANDERSON, B.A., M.A., Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of History and Political Science, Richmond College, Richmond, Va. (Menasha, Wis.: George Banta Publishing Company. 1915. Pp. 271.)

THERE is nothing in this book to contradict Henry Adams's saying that "Giles exceeded every other prominent partisan on either side by the severity of his imputations". In fact, Professor Anderson presents this distinguished Virginian obstructionist as "a constitutional and inevitable critic" (p. 153). He does not spare his subject's feelings, although he is as tender as he could be in displaying his faults. He gives us the portrait of a narrow, wrong-headed, passionate, violent, and selfish man who persistently sought to accomplish his ends through the methods of the political bully. Of him we can say only the good word that he had persistency, courage, and ability in presenting his views, qualities which are good or bad as they are supported by good or bad intentions.

Giles's opposition to the appointment of Gallatin to the secretaryship of state is a notable illustration of his political methods. He wished the post himself and formed a concerted plan with Samuel Smith and George Clinton by which the three used their influence to prevent Gallatin's confirmation. Giles hoped that when Gallatin failed the office might be offered to him, or to some other member of the cabal. The only objection he alleged against Gallatin was that Gallatin was a foreigner. He affected to believe that Great Britain and France, standing out for inalienable citizenship, would not carry on diplomatic business with a man whom they must consider a citizen of Geneva. It was

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a mere pretext to cover Giles's ambitions. Importuned to relent, he said that he "could not justify to himself permitting Gallatin to be Secretary of State if his vote would prevent it". His hopes were badly founded. He had served the Republican party in his violent way long and valiantly, though not always with docility; and he had received little for his services. But he was not the man for the place he aspired to fill, and the mention of his name aroused slight interest. Says Professor Anderson: "The endeavor to picture Giles writing cool, diplomatic notes, inflicting the truth but avoiding imprudence or angry expressions, is all that is necessary to settle the question of his choice for such a responsible and delicate position."

The secret of Giles's popularity was his ability to play upon the fears of the small farmers of Virginia. In a day when it was virtue to declare that Federalists sought to effect "the total destruction of the liberty of the people", he was a favorite orator. His speeches abounded in strong language and ready figures. They carried audiences by their fiery assumptions of facts. They won popular confidence in the days of the Alien and Sedition laws as well as in the era of assumption of state debts. After the Republicans had been in power for a decade the leaders were less given to denouncing privilege. Nationalism and practical measures of social improvement were appealing to the people. In these days Giles found himself left by the trend of public opinion, and he resigned his seat in the Senate rather than be openly defeated.

Gallatin, Macon, and John Randolph, all prominent colleagues of Giles, have long since had their biographers; but Giles has had to wait more than a century from the time when he retired from the Congress in which his career was made. The cause is not accidental. He was a hero in his day, but not a hero of the men who read or wrote books. Moreover, he did little that was constructive. His life is important chiefly because it shows to what extent partizan bitterness went in the days when our political life was receiving its first impression through practical affairs. Happily, we learned some lessons in those two decades that we have not had to learn since. Giles was a man of a discarded and forgotten state of political action. It is only the more minute research of a more scholarly age that demands that his life be written.

Professor Anderson has discharged his duty creditably under many difficulties. Very little intimate material is preserved on the career of Giles. If he left letters and papers they have been destroyed. His biographer has, therefore, been thrown back on documents, newspapers, printed books, and a few letters that are preserved by chance in the collections of other men. For example, in the chapter on the Smith Faction there are seventy-four foot-notes, mostly citations; but only five of them refer to manuscript materials and five to newspapers. Of the others the large majority refer to the *Annals of Congress*. It is disappointing that we have in this chapter little light on the intimate rela-

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tions betwen Giles and Smith. In fact, the book does not give us an intimate life of Giles. Nevertheless, industry and good judgment characterize the work of the biographer. It is regrettable that the publishers have used poor paper and bad type, which with poor binding give us an inferior piece of workmanship.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

The Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Mexico. By WILLIAM R. MANNING, Adjunct Professor of Latin-American History, University of Texas. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1913.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1916. Pp. xi, 406.)

THIS stout little book appears to be a syllabus for the Albert Shaw lectures to which the title refers, for it is apparent that it cannot possibly give the exact language used in addressing the young gentlemen of Johns Hopkins University. Professor Manning's style is not colloquial nor is it calculated to render the book "easy reading". He is a leader among those stern and uncompromising historians who are sedulous in banishing from their writings every trace of wit, of humor, of anecdote, or of allusion; in a word, every trace of anything which could betray a "literary" tendency in their work.

Those who may venture to peruse this volume may as well be warned at the outset that its pages are as dry, and its contents as "scientific", as any treatise on chemistry. It is by no means a book to give pleasure to the casual reader, unless he happens to be so unfortunate as to suffer from insomnia. In that case, indeed,

"Not poppy, nor mandragora,
Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world",

will prove more efficacious for his complaint.

This is by no means a disparagement of the author, who simply carries out unpityingly the tenets of his school. But if Professor Manning fails to charm by the form in which he tells his story, he makes ample amends to those who have the courage and endurance to follow the tale to its conclusion. The period covered—from about 1821 to 1830—includes the term of service of Joel R. Poinsett, the first minister from the United States to Mexico, and the book is, in great measure, the *apologia* for that ill-fated diplomatist.

The work begins with a chapter on the early Mexican representatives in Washington, the first of whom, Señor Manuel Zozaya, arrived in the United States and was received by the President as early as 1822. It is stated that the intention of the provisional junta to send a representative had been previously announced by a letter from "a citizen of the United States by the name of Willcocks". Professor Manning might have added that Mr. Willcocks was not unknown to the State Department. He was for some time the duly appointed agent of the United

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States for seamen and commerce in Mexico. He later became consul-general, and in General Jackson's administration signalized himself by presenting charges violently attacking the manners and morals of Butler—Poinsett's successor as minister in Mexico.

The second chapter relates how, owing chiefly to the fact that Monroe and the members of his administration wished to use the place of American minister in Mexico in the presidential contest of 1824, the position went begging for months after the recognition of Mexican independence. The choice finally fell on Poinsett, and "probably no man in the country had the knowledge and experience which could have so well qualified him for the place".

The third chapter deals with British Influence in Mexico and Poinsett's Struggles against it. The origin and growth of the influence of Britain in Mexican affairs is well explained. Previous American writers have laid too little stress upon the extent and success of Canning's early efforts to promote British interests in Mexico. Unfortunately, Poinsett was possessed with the fallacious idea that the duty had been laid on him to counteract all efforts of European representatives, and he actually went so far as to form a party opposed to British influences. Just how Poinsett accomplished his purposes is not made to appear, but it does appear that his interference in local affairs aroused the enmity of important Mexicans, and thus laid the foundation of the general unpopularity of which he was later the victim.

The succeeding chapters of Professor Manning's work deal with separate topics, such as Cuba saved to Spain, Diplomacy concerning the Opening of the Santa Fé Trail, Obstacles in the Way of Concluding a Commercial Treaty, and Texas and the Boundary Issue. The highly controversial questions: Denunciation of Poinsett because of his Relations with the York Masons and Public Attacks on Poinsett and his Recall, constitute the substance of two relatively short chapters, which are separated from one another by many pages—an arrangement by no means conducive to clearness.

The chapter relating to Cuba is the longest and one of the most interesting in the book, though the connection of its subject with diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico was slight. The chapter dealing with the opening of the Santa Fé trail contains much that is novel and gives an illuminating account of the tortuous methods which have always characterized Mexican diplomacy.

The whole work exhibits abundant evidence of long-continued and fruitful researches among the archives in Washington and Mexico. It is clearly designed for the special student and not for the general reader, and as such is worthy of high commendation.

G. L. Rives.

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The Monroe Doctrine: an Interpretation. By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph.D., Litt.D., LL.D., Professor of the Science of Government in Harvard University. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1916. Pp. vi, 403.)

THE present volume deals with the Monroe Doctrine in a very comprehensive manner. The author regards it not as a "question of theory", but as one of "fact". It is, as he affirms, "founded in the state of things in the western hemisphere"; but as the "conditions of the problem change from decade to decade", he admits that any doctrine "which is to endure in the midst of these changing conditions must undergo corresponding alterations". He thus recognizes the fact that the phrases of Monroe have undergone not a little distortion. "Indeed", he declares (p. 141), "both in its extent and intent, the Monroe Doctrine was not a term but a treatise; not a statement, but a literature; not an event but an historic development. The term Monroe Doctrine has at various times been set up as precluding every form of interference by European powers, from kidnapping a policeman to conquering an empire; and to every parcel of territory from the Pribyloff Islands to Tierra Del Fuego". At the same time, he states that there is a "perpetual national policy which needs no authority from President Monroe" to make it valid, and that is "the daily common-sense recognition of the geographic and political fact that the United States of America is by fact and by right more interested in American affairs, both on the northern and southern continents, than any European power can possibly be". It is probable, however, that cartographers would not be unanimous in regarding the United States as having a paramount interest by reason of physical proximity to the more southern countries of South America, or admit that this can be proved even by "the formal statements of ten presidents and twenty secretaries of state". Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly true that the repeated assertion by the United States of a paramount political interest in the fate of countries of the western hemisphere has resulted in or been attended by an assumption of geographical proximity which is as to some of them unfounded.

A careful examination of the volume has failed to disclose the omission of anything that the title may fairly be supposed to comprehend. It is indeed exceedingly full and suggestive; and there can be no doubt that the author comprehends and has clearly stated the striking developments and expansions of policy that have been associated with the name of Monroe rather than with anything that Monroe and his advisers ever said or dreamt of. The author, however, in his preface frankly states that some "errors" in the text may have escaped attention, and these he will no doubt desire to correct in a future edition. As to matters of opinion, authorities will necessarily differ. For instance, when the policy of our earlier presidents is spoken of as a doctrine of "isolation", there are some persons, among whom is the reviewer, who regard the

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term as wholly misleading. In reality, the word "isolation" is meant to denote the absence of political entanglements, conventional or otherwise. In any other sense, the United States was no more isolated in the first twenty-five years of its history than it is to-day.

The author points out (p. 78) the erroneous supposition that the desire to secure the West Indian trade was the controlling motive of Monroe and his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams. Russia, however, did not make "a claim to the whole north Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea" (p. 88); she suggested that she might have made it, but stated that she preferred to assert only her "essential rights". Again (p. 103), we find the statement: "'The Argentine Nation', as Buenos Aires came to be called, showed the greatest prosperity and the strongest sense of the money value of an orderly government, among all the Latin-American states." This statement relates to the period 1827–1844, which is largely covered by the reign of tyranny and disorder under the long and melancholy dictatorship of Rosas, to which no Argentine to-day likes to refer. The state of Buenos Aires once seceded from the Argentine nation, but never was supposed to be coextensive with it. The treaties between Great Britain and Spain of 1783 and 1786, far from requiring the English to give up (p. 117) their logwood-cutting "foothold", expressly confirmed it.

A popular impression no doubt prevailed and probably still prevails in the United States that the Hungarians, when they "rose against their masters . . . proclaimed a republic" (p. 121); but Dudley Mann, who was in Europe at the time, could scarcely have shared this impression, nor did he get nearer "the scene" than Vienna. The release of Koszta was not demanded (p. 123) because he had lived in the United States two years and "filed his first papers". A singular injustice is done to Marcy in classing him (p. 134) with those who supported the "Ostend Manifesto" and sought to "browbeat" Spain into the sale of Cuba, or (p. 140) with those who pursued a "radical and aggressive" policy towards Central America; for he publicly punctured the "Manifesto", brought about Soulé's resignation by frustrating his machinations at Madrid, and strongly opposed and resented the recognition of the Walker-Rivas government in Nicaragua. The controversy as to the Danish sound dues was adjusted by Marcy, not by Cass (p. 139), the United States accepting, in the treaty signed but not negotiated by Cass, the terms arranged by the European conference. Marcy's feeling toward the Declaration of Paris of 1856, far from being "muddled" (p. 139), proceeded from a perfectly clear conception of the problem. "Solana" Bay (p. 151) should be "Samana". The call for the Pan-American Conference in 1888 can hardly be treated as "one of the few indications that President Cleveland was interested in Latin America" (p. 189), his want of sympathy in this instance being pointedly attested by permitting the bill to become a law without his signature. Uruguay, instead of being unrepresented (p. 189), had a delegate in the

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conference from October 2, 1889, till February 10, 1890. Among the tangible results of the conference may be mentioned not only the Bureau of the American Republics (p. 190), but the Intercontinental Railway Commission, the record of whose surveys and other work, down to 1898, may be found in the general report, in seven volumes, made in that year, while the late A. J. Cassatt was president of the commission. Between 1859 and 1892 there were several occasions when "hostilities with a Latin-American neighbor" (p. 191) were threatened. The claims against Venezuela in 1903 were not submitted to the Hague Court (p. 231); only the question of preferential payment was so referred. So far as concerns order and stability, greater discrimination is due (p. 249) to the governments of Latin America. Calvo was an Argentine, not a Brazilian (pp. 245, 262). The "pacific blockade" (p. 277) of Venezuelan ports in 1903 was soon converted into a hostile blockade.

Fifty Years of American Idealism: the New York Nation, 1865–1915: Selections and Comments. By GUSTAV POLLAK. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. ix, 468.)

IT was in July, 1865, that the *Nation* made its bow to the American public. Last year, to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its birth, an extraordinarily interesting issue of the journal recounted its half-century of history, with the aid of many of its old-time collaborators and friends. The desire to create a more permanent memorial of its fifty years' activity in cleansing the Augean stables of American politics has led to the preparation of a volume entitled *Fifty Years of American Idealism,* under the editorship of Mr. Gustav Pollak, a veteran staff contributor. What Charles Eliot Norton would have called the "modest audacity" of this title is justified by the record. The *Nation* has been, throughout its entire career, the spokesman of American idealism in art and literature, as well as in politics and social life. Its steadfast refusal to act the time-server, or to bow to the gusts of popular passion, and its persistence in holding its rudder true amid the tempests of controversy, have won for it a clientèle of devoted friends, and even the familiar gibe of its enemies that it "made virtue repulsive" is a striking tribute to the effectiveness of its work. The present writer feels competent to bear witness in the case, having read every number of the *Nation* for the past thirty-two years. Many are the ardent spirits who in youth made the acquaintance of the *Nation,* and found in it the counsellor and guide which answered to their deepest needs while threading their way through the labyrinth of modern life and thought, which carried on for them the intellectual development that college had begun, or which gave them a substitute for the academic opportunities that circumstances had denied them, and a frequently recurring note in the grateful tributes which they have paid to its influences is that which recognizes this function of

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a "continuing university", ever at hand to resolve the perplexities of the mind whose paramount desires are clarity of vision and rectitude of thought. In this sense, the rounding of the *Nation's* fifty years' term becomes comparable in significance with the secular anniversary of a great institution of learning.

The prospectus declared that the aim of the journal was to "make an earnest effort to bring to the discussion of political and social questions a really critical spirit, and to wage war upon the vices of violence, exaggeration, and misrepresentation by which so much of the political writing of the day is marred". From the cloud of witnesses who have come forward to testify to the keeping of this pledge, we may quote the words of Lord Bryce, who wrote to Godkin in 1895: "I am sure it is not friendship, but such little knowledge as I have gained, that makes me feel that no person in this generation has done so much to stem the current of evil and preach a high ideal of public duty and of political honesty as you have."

The present volume has three sections. Mr. Pollak's historical sketch is followed by about 150 pages of running commentary upon the events of the last fifty years, entitled "The *Nation's* Weekly Comments", and consisting of extracts from the editorial columns, presumably Godkin's own writing for the most part. Finally, we have a selection of twenty-four reprinted "Representative Essays", filling upwards of 200 pages, and exemplifying in striking fashion the character of the scholarship and literary art which were always at the service of the *Nation*. Among the more notable of these essays may be mentioned Lounsbury's review of Taine's *English Literature*, W. P. Garrison's tribute to his father, the great abolitionist, A. V. Dicey's "An English View of American Conservatism", C. S. Pierce's essay on Helmholtz, Lord Bryce's essay on Gladstone, William James's essay on Herbert Spencer, Stuart P. Sherman's essay on Mark Twain, and Paul Shorey's "American Scholarship", which fluttered the dovecotes of German university circles five years ago. As offering a cross-section of the ripest American thought of the last half-century, this volume has a considerable claim to be considered as a work of lasting value.

WILLIAM MORTON PAYNE.

A History of American Literature since 1870. By FRED LEWIS PATTEE, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Pennsylvania State College. (New York: The Century Company. 1915. Pp. 449.)

THE title is misleading, for Professor Pattee confines himself to "authors who did their first distinctive work before 1892", and therefore omits even such writers as Edith Wharton and William Vaughn Moody. His main thesis is that the Civil War, by uniting and remaking the country, first gave us "a really national literature", and that this creative impulse had exhausted itself by the end of the century.

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The first chapter, the Second Discovery of America, presents this view in outline; and the remaining chapters describe literary movements and individual authors from this standpoint, the literature of the South and the West receiving most attention.

The work was worth doing, though perhaps not at such length, and in some ways it has been done well. American literature from the Civil War to the end of the century is surveyed with a unity and a sweep of view that are illuminating and impressive, and its distinctively American quality for the first time receives due emphasis.

But the book has two serious faults. Ardor for his thesis has caused the author greatly to underrate the amount of Americanism in our literature before 1865, and also to exaggerate the effect of the war, largely ignoring other influences, many of them world-wide. A similar bias results from his theory that good literature must have a "message" and spring from "life", which he practically identifies with contemporary and national life. His judgment of individual works is warped by this theory; he often declares that mediocre poems and tales, which "voice" the life of the times, are "immortal", while of Poe's tales he can say that "they . . . lack sharpness of outline", and of Emily Dickinson's poems, that "they should have been allowed to perish". If he had not been obsessed by his theory, Professor Pattee could never have delivered this solemn judgment on the whimsical Stockton: "He wrote little that touches any of the real problems of his time or that has in it anything to grip or even to move the reader; even his murders are gentle affairs."

There are also more superficial errors and blemishes. The list of twenty-five writers who produced "the new literature from the West and the South" (p. 18) includes six who neither lived in nor wrote of those sections, while Lanier is omitted. On page 381 we learn that most recent American fiction consists of short stories because "he who would deal with crude characters in a bare environment can not prolong his story without danger of attenuation", and Miss Murfree's novels are cited; but on page 315 this explanation of her failure was expressly rejected, and it was pointed out that Hardy "had chosen for his novels a region and a people just as primitive". The style, although in general fresh and strong, often lacks simplicity and naturalness, and is marred by constant use of the stock phrases of current criticism, as "convincing", "compelling", "gripping", "rings true", and "hot from a man's heart". There are a few misprints: *With the Allies* is dated 1814 (p. 384); the youthful Riley is said (p. 325) to have gone about the country with "a patient medicine 'doctor'".

WALTER C. BRONSON.

The Life and Letters of John Hay. By WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. x, 456; 448.)

MR. THAYER warns the reader of his purpose and his limitations. It is a "personal biography" which he has sought to produce, rather

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than a "public history". Yet in the case of John Hay the two are inextricably blended. His life was "affected with a public interest". Otherwise it would never have been written on the scale of these volumes. Charming as he was in private, genial in his friendships, skilled with his pen, this full record would not have been required for the man of rather meagre literary output, had he not also been famous as Secretary of State. It is mainly because all that he became by education and experience was poured into the final mould of his work in diplomacy that we are interested to trace his beginnings and progress. Hence it is that the "public history" is necessarily forced upon his biographer. But with it an awkwardness is also forced upon him. For the whole story cannot yet be told. The official archives still jealously guard their secrets. The years of Hay's work at the Department of State cannot be dealt with as Mr. Thayer had previously dealt with the work of Cavour—a thing complete in a time remote, with masses of available material. Consequently, all that he attempts in the *Life of John Hay* is to sketch in a background against which Hay's letters and other utterances may stand out clear.

Mrs. Hay in her lifetime had privately printed copious selections from her husband's letters and diaries. These are naturally Mr. Thayer's chief dependence, though he has enlarged his sources even of this kind. And it is an engaging picture of an original talent that emerges in these pages. Particularly welcome is the light thrown on Hay's family, his Illinois environment, his career at Brown University. Early waking to the consciousness of his own powers—belief in which was common among his boyhood's acquaintances and classmates—John Hay had his period of uncertain feeling after his work in life, concerning which his constitutional tendency, as it appears, to melancholy often made him take despondent views. The Civil War and his good fortune in being appointed one of Lincoln's private secretaries snatched him out of himself and made a man of the youth. Such a great experience could not fail to prepare him, though Hay at the time had but the dimmest apprehension of this, for dealing in a large spirit with important matters of state. On the interval it is not necessary long to dwell. Hay had his contacts with life in Europe, officially and as traveller and lover of art. He early got more of an international mind than most of his generation. Convictions and, if one insists, prejudices were formed in him during those years in which his views of different European nations were forming, which came out later in the Secretary of State. His ventures in literature and in journalism never seem to have taken deep hold on him, though they had their value to him both in the way of shaping the instrument of his style and in winning him warm friendships. It was not till McKinley's election in 1896 that the career was opened to Hay for which all his life had been an unconscious preparation.

Hay's brief service as ambassador to England fell at a critical time, and was, no doubt, useful to his country. Diplomatically he was cor-

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rect and successful, socially he was in the way of becoming influential, and in time, he might have been able, by addresses on public occasions and at literary celebrations, to make himself something like an American ambassador to the British people. But as the case stands, it seems an exaggeration for Mr. Thayer to assert that "John Hay's ambassadorship ranks in importance next after that of Charles Francis Adams". A plea could be put in for either Lowell or Phelps or Bayard, before Hay. Certainly the matter is not to be decided by Queen Victoria's saying to Lord Pauncefote that Hay was "the most interesting of all the Ambassadors [meaning, presumably, from the United States] I have known". This might argue merely that Hay had been as adroit as Disraeli in using his pretty talent for flattery at Windsor.

There can be no dispute that to the Department of State Hay brought peculiar aptitudes and capacities. He was cosmopolitan yet downright American. He knew the European point of view, while always ready to maintain that of his own country. In personal diplomatic intercourse he had grace and wit and skill to carry his point. Moreover, there was in him something, as it has been said, of the amateur spirit. He was not an old functionary promoted; he was a man unfettered by a narrow official training, with fresh and even daring ideas, and still with spring and hope enough in him to venture upon new paths. These qualities appear in the two outstanding achievements of John Hay, secretary of state. These are his negotiations to secure the integrity of China, at a time when it looked as if she were to be dismembered, and his triumph in obtaining from Great Britain a surrender of her right to control jointly with the United States the construction and operation of an Isthmian Canal. The former stroke of diplomacy was the more showy. It was audacious, to say the least, to raise an American shield to protect China. The novelty of Hay's procedure left European diplomacy in something like a daze of wonder; and it made, as if in the first moments of surprise, concessions and vague promises which were not perhaps intended to be binding. But the whole made a great sensation at the time and did much to heighten Hay's prestige. But it was the other affair into which he put ability and labor in a way to make both his repute and the results lasting. To have quietly and amicably induced the British Foreign Office to agree to the repeal of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was a work of which any secretary might have been proud, and which was great enough to make the fame of any. In Hay's case, it was attended by many vexations and disappointments. He did not get on well with senators, and resented the way in which they snipped at his handiwork. Upon the rejection by the Senate of the first form of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, the Secretary, in a moment of chagrin, offered his resignation. But President McKinley had the patience necessary in dealing with the Congressional mind, and refused to part with Hay. The end finally crowned the work; and at Panama

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a monument will stand to diplomacy, more enduring than any other that easily comes to recollection.

Mr. Thayer is to be thanked for the good taste and fairness and, on the whole, due sense of proportion, with which he has written these volumes. They can hardly rank with his *Life of Cavour,* but the skill and pains which were put into that, appear in this definitive biography of John Hay.

Charles Francis Adams, 1835–1915; an Autobiography. Prepared for the Massachusetts Historical Society. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. lx, 224.)

THE late Samuel Rawson Gardiner set it down for us, with characteristic sagacity, that the first step toward learning what a man's character was is to discover what he seemed to himself to be. If only it were also the final and conclusive step, every autobiography of a public man would be an invaluable source of historical knowledge, perfectly decisive of many matters now dubious. But alas, the student most devoted to this class of books is forced to confess that they have to be subjected to many drastic processes of winnowing before they become either digestible or nutritious. Too often the autobiography can only be described as a biography by the one witness most fully acquainted with the facts and most certain to misrepresent them. The misrepresentation lies of course on the side of magnifying the writer's qualities and achievements, of showing him to have been always virtuous in a world where others were strangely indifferent to virtue, the one infallibly wise man in a shortsighted generation, a hero uniformly heroic, perhaps uniformly successful. From Tiglathpileser I. to Theodore Roosevelt and Joseph Foraker, the autobiographies of public men worry the reader with their distinct and unfaltering remembrance of having been always right. It is therefore a most refreshing thing to encounter such an autobiography as this of Charles Francis Adams, of which the most outstanding quality is its perfect candor, its freedom from illusions respecting its subject.

At times the candor toward others is somewhat overdone. It is allowable to say that one's father made great blunders about one's education, and ought to have arrived at the court of St. James six weeks earlier than he did—very likely he ought; but there is no need to be quite so frank about the failings of one's colonels, though it makes vivid portraiture. But after all the main matter of the book is the portrait of the author himself. Frans Hals could not have made it more vivid; and to the present reviewer it seems very exact and lifelike, except that Mr. Adams might well have rated his achievements and successes higher, and need not have supposed that the frequent gruffness of his manner had much concealed from those around him the real kindness of his disposition. His remarks on such defects and their results are a little pathetic. Still they are not abject. He was aware,

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as if it had been another person, that the subject of his book, if he had not played his cards to their best, had had a good hand to start with, and had won some distinct successes with it. It is a manly, straightforward book, written in the best style of a very effective writer, who had shown himself, in his *Dana* especially, a skillful biographer.

The life which the book describes is that of one who served his country well as a young officer in the Civil War, who made a deep mark upon its later history by pioneer work of great intelligence in the governmental regulation of railroads, who rendered valuable service in laying out Boston's park system, who wrote much excellent history, especially for the Massachusetts Historical Society, and who in public affairs, of town, state, or nation, could be counted upon to raise, frequently and with wholesome effect, a clear, candid, pungent, and always independent voice. It is a pity that the government could not have had more use of his unusual powers, or that, in a country having no House of Lords, his qualities were not such as to bring him into some of those high places where he could have served so admirably.

As a contribution to American history the volume suffers somewhat from the fact that Mr. Adams, as president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, had already set forth in print his remembrances and thoughts concerning several of the chief events, mainly of the Civil War period, with which his life had brought him into contact, and these descriptions he does not choose to repeat. But nearly a third of the book is given to the years 1860 and 1861—a summer campaign journey with Seward, a month in Washington, February 18–March 13, 1861 (what month in Washington's history more to be chosen, for such a young man!), and from April to October six months of slow gravitation toward entrance into the army. All this is intensely interesting. In particular, the candid description (aided by a diary, and with plenty of Boston background) of the young man's progress toward the resolve to apply for a commission is as good as anything in the volume, and casts light on a much broader area than that of one life or character.

The autobiography having been finished in March, 1912, Mr. W. C. Ford has added a few pages on the remaining three years of Mr. Adams's life. A memorial address by Senator Lodge is prefixed to the book. There is a good portrait, and the form of the book is in all respects suitable to the biography of a gentleman of distinction, dignity, and good taste.

Notes of a Busy Life. By Joseph Benson Foraker. In two volumes. (Cincinnati: Stewart and Kidd Company. 1916. Pp. xv, 511; vi, 584.)

Joseph Benson Foraker has been treated by fate less kindly than any of his political associates. Presidents Garfield and McKinley won the martyr's crown. John Sherman was still in public life when physically incapacitated for service; and if he did not achieve the height of

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his ambition by becoming President, he wrote his name as a financier under the names of Hamilton and Gallatin. Mr. Taft's star was in the ascendant until after the chief political prize had been won, and he is still a political factor. Mark Hanna's career as a political manipulator was in full swing when death called him. Had Senator Foraker's physical end come before his defeat for re-election to the Senate (made possible by the disclosure by Hearst of relations with the Standard Oil Company as legal adviser), his fame would have been greater. But in that case we should not have had the two bulky volumes wherein are recorded the minute details of political activities that, originating in Ohio, had a predominating influence throughout the country.

Senator Foraker's estimates of men are usually erroneous. Often he extols men of little or no importance; but his mind never met the minds of the other leaders and for this reason his characterizations of them are never sympathetic. He records frequent occasions when he has hewn wood and carried water for the political masters, only to experience their ingratitude. The fact is, they felt that he could not be trusted to play the political game. At the same time he had to be considered, because he represented the discontented element in the party, and political success could be achieved only when that element could be cajoled into supporting the ticket.

The secret of Mr. Foraker's strength lay in his power as an orator. He could move an audience as a great violinist or singer does. He could influence men against their wills and convictions. Yet he was compelling rather than persuasive. When the spell passed, the reaction came. In campaigns his abuse of opponents qualified his usefulness on the stump; and yet he was regarded as a great campaign speaker and was much sought after throughout the country. It is impossible to appreciate Mr. Foraker's oratorical powers from reading the speeches given in the memoirs. They have no literary quality; and their historical or philosophical content is negligible. They are simply impassioned utterances of a speaker moved by his cause and desirous of producing immediate effects. The appeal is to patriotism, to party loyalty, or to the emotions.

The value of the Foraker memoirs, therefore, lies not in their judgments, but rather in their citations from correspondence and contemporary newspapers. And even here the student of history must walk circumspectly. It is essential to know the political equation; for a slight error on one side of the equality sign is apt to produce ludicrously inaccurate results. Politicians have a correspondence language of their own; they use words to conceal thoughts, and protest friendship most when they exercise it least; they rarely commit important matters to paper, preferring a personal interview or a discreet messenger. Their communications relate largely to appointments to office or to securing nominations for themselves or their supporters. They conduct their affairs according to the primitive methods of barter. Bribery, as the outsider

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knows it, is uncommon. Friendship, loyalty to class, or to large interests, or to organizations, are controlling motives within party lines. Members of the third parties (who have not the protection afforded by the restraints imposed by regular organizations) are peculiarly liable to be swayed by influences other than the dictates of experience or reason, and thus are subject to manipulation. The politician usually is an opportunist. To him questions of government are decided primarily on the basis of their effect on party success. All statesmen have to be politicians; but all politicians do not become statesmen, even after death.

Mr. Foraker lived and moved and had his being among politicians. His busy life, the varied incidents of which he recounts, was concerned largely with state politics and with national politics in so far as the latter had their roots in Ohio. While the memoirs supply valuable raw material for the political history of the country from Hayes to Wilson, they are valuable chiefly as guide-posts, showing the way to the student's destination. As a record of political morals and the machinery of politics they are unsurpassed.

Mr. Foraker is eminently a "practical" politician. He has no sympathy for idealists, free-traders, professors, or dudes, to use his own classification. Mr. Lodge is ridiculed because of his antipathy to split infinitives; and yet Senator Lodge's speeches already form a considerable part of the political history of the times. The tariff reformers are sneered at; and the idea that offices should not be bestowed as political favors is not entertained for a moment. Yet there are flashes of good nature, of legal acumen, of sympathy for the under dog, all of which go far to account for the devotion of the senator's following. There is also running through the memoirs an admiration for the successful politician, a desire to stand well with the powers that be, and, above all, a longing for justification before posterity—qualities which counterbalance the evident endeavor to punish the author's enemies, dead and alive. Discriminatingly used, the work is an illuminating contribution to the political history of the past forty years.

C. M.

The Canadian Iron and Steel Industry: a Study in the Economic History of a Protected Industry. By W. J. A. Donald, Ph.D. [Hart, Schaffner, and Marx Prize Essays, vol. XIX.] (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. xv, 376.)

The object of this study of the birth, growth, and present condition of the Canadian iron and steel industry is twofold: in the first place to present the economic history of a particular Canadian industry; in the second place to inquire into the relation between the policy of protection and the growth of iron and steel production, to what extent this policy has been successful, and whether the result has justified the cost.

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Dr. Donald says in his preface that an economic history of Canada cannot be written until we know more about the development of the various units concerned, and he is right. We have had too many ill-considered and ill-digested accounts of Canada's economic progress, generally written for a political purpose and with little or no criticism of the mistakes made or the weaknesses revealed. This book is a very welcome antidote to that sort of thing. The author tells us that he has tried to present an impartial and exhaustive study of a particular industry and he has fully redeemed his promise.

He opens his subject by pointing out the causes that have retarded the industrial development of Canada, causes which are partly social, partly political, and partly a result of the dominating and overshadowing influence of the United States. Canada did not really begin the race until the late nineties. An excellent account of the natural resources of the iron and steel industry follows. This includes a description of the geographical areas where coal, iron ore, and limestone are found, and the probable value of these deposits.

The history of the industry itself is considered chronologically and during three periods. The first of these extends to 1879. This date is chosen because it is the year when the Conservatives adopted the protective or "national" policy, as they like to call it. Previous to 1879 the industry had made very little progress because of largely limited markets, lack of capital, transportation difficulties, and divergent provincial interests. In 1879 and afterward rather high protective tariffs on iron and steel products were imposed. The producers of finished products complained that the duties on their raw materials made profitable production impossible. As a result the duties were diminished and in 1884 bounties were granted. The protective system did not aid the primary industry but probably had a considerable influence in encouraging the output of finished products. Was the cost worth while? The average unthinking Canadian says "Yes", but Dr. Donald feels considerable doubt about it.

In 1896 a so-called Liberal and free-trade government was returned to power. Considerable tinkering with the tariff resulted and there followed a slight reduction in iron and steel duties, offset, however, by a marked extension of the bounty system. The granting of the bounties was essentially a political makeshift. The government hoped to win the support of the free-trade and agricultural West by lowering the duties on certain finished commodities, notably agricultural machinery and wire-fencing, while retaining the allegiance of the manufacturing East by means of the bounties. In neither case were they wholly successful. The West was discontented at the failure to grant any marked reductions and the eastern manufacturers turned against the government in the reciprocity election of 1911, a year before the bounties were discontinued. If any protection is granted, the free-trader prefers to do so by means of bounties. The burden is plain and

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they are not likely to be long continued. For these reasons the true protectionist does not like them. Since the bounties expired, the protectionists in Canada have clamored for an increase in duties and they have been successful. This is notably true of the iron and steel producers, who received special treatment before the war and general favors under the so-called war tariff increase.

Dr. Donald has added a voluminous bibliography and several valuable appendixes to his study. One of these, dealing with the combination movement in the iron and steel industry, is particularly interesting. A chart is given showing the system of interlocking directorates and a list of amalgamations follows. Most Canadians have little or no idea of the extent to which the majority of their goods are controlled by trusts, the manner in which prices are fixed, markets determined, and competition controlled. Upon the whole, this book is a most valuable aid to those of us who are interested in Canada's economic development. In addition it is a fair and unbiassed account of the effect of bounties and protective tariffs on a particular industry.

J. C. Hemmeon.

MINOR NOTICES

La Race Chamitique. Par Théodore Vibert. Préface de Paul Vibert. (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1916, pp. xiii, 415.) Forty years ago the eccentric author of this book occupied in France a position comparable to that enjoyed by Mr. Ignatius Donnelly in America. The notoriety he acquired by his epic on the Girondists was kept alive by the quarrels in which its publication involved him, and by his strange adventures in the borderlands of scholarship.

The present volume was left in manuscript on the author's death in 1885, and now appears owing to the loyalty of M. Paul Vibert, the writer's son. The book is meant to supplement an earlier one—*La Race Sémitique*—which sought to present the world with a basis for the history of the white races of mankind. In *La Race Chamitique* a similar attempt is made to lay a foundation for the study of the black races. As the writer reckons the Egyptians among *les races noirs,* and derives the Chinese from them, the task he sets himself is no small one. It is somewhat simplified for the author by his conviction that the Egyptians spoke Hebrew (p. 224)! After an introduction in which a violent attack is launched against Sardou, M. Vibert begins his inquiry with a discourse on the origin of the world, and a series of *déluge-prolégomènes.* Creation established, Egyptian origins are approached, and shown to be less complex than the pedants would have us believe. A brief section on Iberia and Colchis presents those areas as transitional ones between Egypt and China, and the reader is then overwhelmed with a farrago of facts and conjectures relating to the Far East. By way of climax a comparison is instituted between the Chinese

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and Egyptian vocabularies. The tabulated results (p. 226 *et seq.*) may be judged by one random example: "Dérivé chinois—*Piromi,* tombeau d'Adam à Ceylon ≈ Racines hébraïques—*Pour,* détruit, mort: *Omah,* group d'hommes ≈ Egyptian—*Piromis,* hommes purs, tombeau"! The last 170 pages of the volume consist of reading-notes which were to have been incorporated in the text. It is hard to conceive that such a book could have been produced in a country where Hamitic studies have been raised to a level elsewhere unknown.

ORIC BATES.

The Social Legislation of the Primitive Semites. By Henry Schaeffer, Ph.D. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1915, pp. xiv, 245.) We are just beginning to recognize the outline features of the primitive Semites. Vast quantities of new cuneiform inscriptional material have been made available within the last few decades to aid us in filling out the form of that primitive human.

Schaeffer's book attempts to utilize such information as bears on the social customs and so-called legislation of the Semites from the earliest Babylonians down to the modern Arab. The phases that he discusses in fourteen chapters embrace the form and composition of primitive society and its economic problems. The chapters might be more logically and naturally re-arranged in two general divisions—first, the social life and, second, the economic life. Under the *first,* we should arrange matriarchy, patriarchy, agnation, next of kin, slavery, poor laws, sabbatical year, and year of jubilee; under the *second,* interest, pledges and security, the prophets' view of landed property, taxation and tribute, individual land ownership in Israel, and, as an appendix, Ezekiel's ideal plan of allotment. Such an arrangement of the material would present a normal advance under each part.

Again, we must demur at the author's method of aligning his evidence under several of his chapters. The scientific value of his methods and conclusions must be discounted if we are to base our ideas of the social character of the primitive Semites upon the prevalence of any given custom among the modern Arabs. In other words, while the modern Arab is an important factor in Semitic social research, the chasm of over four thousand years between early Semitic times in Babylonia, and this day cannot with certainty be bridged by so short a process. It is true that the East moved slowly, but we should not shoulder upon that fact a practically stationary condition of the Orient in the social sphere. We know from the laws of Hammurabi that there was decisive advance in many phases of custom and law. The author's treatment of individual chapters and the numerous foot-notes show that the literature of the subject has been carefully studied. The use of the latest researches, and their value in this investigation, mark the book as worthy the consideration of every student of early social development. Only in monographs on each or any of the themes of any of the

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chapters here treated, does one find more detailed information, and in none of them does he find any more reliable collection of up-to-date facts. Indefatigable industry shows itself on every page, and within the space treated we know of no work that compares with it in compactness and comprehensiveness.

We venture even in so brief a notice to point out a few little items that could be improved. On page 148 we find: "The social problem, as viewed by the prophets, resolves itself for the most part into a question of property in land." Reflection and study of the prophets ought to change that statement. On pages 145, 146, 160, the printing of the Hebrew words needs repairs. On page 173, foot-note 47, the Hebrew transliteration likewise should be corrected.

The mechanical construction of the book is a credit to the Yale University Press.

IRA MAURICE PRICE.

The Life of Saint Boniface by Willibald. Translated into English for the First Time with Introduction and Notes by George W. Robinson, Secretary of the Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. [Harvard Translations.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1916, pp. 114.) The historical value of Willibald's *Life of St. Boniface* has long been appreciated and Mr. Robinson by translating it, has done a second service to the study of medieval history in America, commensurate to that made by his translation of the *Life of St. Severinus.* The rendition into English is at the same time both literal and smooth. In chapter VI., dealing with the famous felling of the Oak of Geismer, Mr. Robinson has made a distinct contribution by clearing up the confusion of the Latin terms used. He takes the words *succidisset* and *praeciso* to be technical terms of medieval woodcraft and makes the first apply to the deep lower notch cut by woodsmen to the centre of the tree while the second is applied to the upper notch cut in the "back" of the tree in order to prevent its shivering as it fell.

Some of the notes appended to the text might have been profitably amplified. For example, page 28, note 1, on the *chorévêque* ought to refer to Pepin's inquiry in 746 of Pope Zachary (*Epist. Merov. et Karol. Aevi,* I. 480) and to Boniface's own letter (Ep. 78) in which he cites the canon of Antioch on the subject. The history of the port of Wijk bij Duurstede, near Utrecht, mentioned in chapter IV., has been more fully written since Soetbeer wrote, by Vogel, *Die Normannen,* by Parisot, *Lorraine sous les Carolingiens,* and by Wilkens, *Zur Geschichte des Niederländischen Handels im Mittelalter* (*cf.* article on the "Commerce of France in the Ninth Century", *Journal of Political Economy,* November, 1915, p. 860). On page 49, note, Roth's *Beneficialwesen* is referred to for the military administration of the Exarchate, whereas Diehl's treatment is far fuller. (He cites Willibald on p. 356.) On page 76, note 1, Mr. Robinson inserts a note in the form of a sentence

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from Ep. 50 of Boniface, which he has translated. I think, however, that he misses Boniface's primary thought. It was not so much the lapse of synods and archbishops which Boniface deplored as the decline of ecclesiastical authority. In his eyes an archbishop was very different from the ancient metropolitan of Merovingian Gaul.

The introduction is a brief critical appreciation. In appendix is a list of editions and translations of the *Life*. Eichstätt, page 17, note, does not appear in the index, which is good.

J. W. T.

Notae Latinae: an Account of Abbreviations in Latin MSS. of the Early Minuscule Period (c. 700–850). By W. M. Lindsay, F.B.A., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, Sanders Reader in Palaeography in the University of Cambridge, 1910, Professor of Humanity in the University of St. Andrews. (Cambridge, University Press, 1915, pp. xxiv, 500.) In dealing with any text, ancient or medieval, an editor is bound to inquire into the date and origin of his manuscript or manuscripts, since such knowledge is often an aid in reconstructing the history of the text itself. And as abbreviations often throw light upon the history of a manuscript an accurate knowledge of their use and development is indispensable to anyone whose researches take him to first sources.

The historical method of dealing with abbreviations was introduced by Traube, whose *Perrona Scottorum,* with its study of the *noster*-abbreviations, marks an epoch in Latin palaeography. In his *Nomina Sacra* Traube gave us the model for all researches in this field. The present work was inspired by that model and takes up the subject where Traube leaves it off.

The history of the *nomina sacra* is practically the history of Latin abbreviations prior to the eighth century. The century and a half that follows, which sees the birth of various minuscule scripts, is also the creative period for abbreviations. It is with this period that the present book deals. It is divided into three chapters, followed by an appendix. Chapter I. begins with a discussion of the origin of minuscule symbols (pp. 1–5), which is followed by an alphabetical list of the regular stock of abbreviations in early minuscule manuscripts (pp. 6–394). Chapter II. (pp. 395–412) deals with the *nomina sacra* (*deus, dominus, Christus, Iesus,* etc.), and their derivatives. Chapter III. (pp. 413–443) deals with the *notae iuris,* technical symbols and capricious abbreviations such as are found in familiar or recurrent phrases. The scope of the treatment may be judged from the fact that *autem* has 13 full pages devoted to it, *per, prae, pro* 12 pages, *dico* and its forms 18 pages. The appendix (pp. 444–494) contains a descriptive list of the manuscripts used, arranged alphabetically, according to libraries. To the palaeographer these fifty pages are worth their weight in gold; for they constitute a most accurate and valuable guide to the manuscript material of

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the period (A. D. 700–850). The work ends with tables of symbols arranged alphabetically and grouped according to locality.

Professor Lindsay's book is a monument of erudition, patience, and indefatigable zeal. It embodies the results of an investigation in which practically all the extant material has been examined. No other living scholar could have given us this work.

E. A. Loew.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, third series, volume IX. (London, the Society, 1915, pp. vii, 242.) So large a part of these volumes is taken up with lists of members and publications and other formal matter, that it contains only 174 pages of historical reading. Professor Firth devotes his presidential address to a brief history of English wars in Belgium and their causes and of the relations between Great Britain and the Low Countries. Aside from this address and a short history of the Canadian archives by Dr. Arthur G. Doughty, there are in the volume six historical essays. Mr. J. Conway Davies writes of the Despenser War in Glamorgan (1321) which minute and competent knowledge, Mr. Maurice Wilkinson of a Provincial Assembly during the League, namely the estates of Burgundy meeting at Semur in October, 1590, and the rival organization of the League. Rev. P. H. Ditchfield essays to controvert the Errors of Lord Macaulay in his Estimation of the Squires and Parsons of the Seventeenth Century (in the third chapter of the *History*), but rather by matching assertion against assertion than by adducing any considerable array of additional facts. If the importance of historical events and processes is measured by the scale of their results, the most important subject treated in the volume is that of Mr. F. A. Kirkpatrick, Municipal Administration in the Spanish Dominions in America, but the paper is not more than a sketch. Madame Inna Lubimenko discourses interestingly upon the correspondence of Queen Elizabeth with the Russian czars, and makes proposals as to its publication. Mr. Alfred Anscombe, in a long paper on the Historical Side of the Old English Poem of *Widsith,* presents a "revised text" (without having examined the original manuscript at Exeter), identifies Guðhere with Gundihari, king of the Burgundians (d. 451), Casere and the Creacas with the Count Caesarius (d. 448) and an Alemannic tribe settled about Craster in Northumberland, and lectures the philologians *de haut en bas.*

Robert of Chester's Latin Translation of the Algebra of Al-Khowarizmi. With an Introduction, Critical Notes, and an English Version by Louis Charles Karpinski, University of Michigan. [University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, vol. XI., Contributions to the History of Science.] (New York, the Macmillan Company, 1915, pp. 164.) Mohammed ibn Musa Al-Khowarizmi, declares Professor Karpinski, influenced mathematical science in Europe more vitally "than any other writer from the time of the Greeks to Regiomontanus.

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Through his arithmetic, presenting the Hindu art of reckoning, he revolutionized the common processes of calculation and through his algebra he laid the foundation for modern analysis." He has also a place in the history of trigonometry, as appears from his astronomical tables, translated by Adelard of Bath in 1126 and recently edited by Suter. His treatise on algebra, written *ca.* 825, is preserved in the Arabic original and in two Latin versions of the twelfth century, one of which, due to Robert of Chester, is here published for the first time. Besides a critical edition of the Latin text and its accompanying geometrical figures, Professor Karpinski gives an English version with modern notation and a number of judicious notes. His introduction makes clear the place of the treatise in the history of algebraic studies and brings together what is known respecting the translator, an Englishman who took a leading part in making Arabic knowledge available for Latin Europe but whose biography is very inadequately known. The editor has given what is essential; one could wish that he would describe more fully, at least on its mathematical side, the extent and course of this movement of translation and adaptation of Saracen science. The volume is the result of much patient labor, historical and linguistic as well as mathematical, and marks an achievement of American scholarship in a direction in which its contributions have so far been few. Fortunately there are in our universities some signs of a new interest in the history of science, and there is no historical field where the opportunity is greater for profitable investigation.

C. H. H.

The Caliphs' Last Heritage: a Short History of the Turkish Empire. By Lt.-Col. Sir Mark Sykes, Bart., M. P. (London, Macmillan and Company, 1915, pp. xii, 638.) The alternative title of this book is inappropriate. Hardly sixteen pages are given to the history of the Ottoman Turks, and the summary reaches only to the year 1535. Moreover, it is somewhat inaccurate: Constantinople had ceased to be in any large sense "a centre of world finance, a pool of gold", long before its capture in 1453; their inheritance from the Byzantine Empire was only one among several elements which gave stability to the Ottoman line; Selim I. did not conquer Aden. The main title, however, is well chosen: it bears relation to each of the dissimilar halves of the book, which consist of a sketch of the history of the Levant from the accession of Cyrus to the reign of Suleiman I., and a record of personal observations during the years 1906 to 1913.

The first half is introduced by a brief geographical survey. Earlier history having been dismissed in a sentence, the narrative is sketched rapidly, except for the period of a quarter-millennium after the birth of Mohammed. Practically no authorities are mentioned, and the traditional accounts are followed uncritically. But the story is told with fire and life, and an actual contribution to knowledge is made by explaining

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former events in the light of personal observations. A few positive errors occur, as that "the First Crusade followed almost identically the line of Alexander's army"; the Mongols and Finns are separately accused of destroying the irrigation system of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, whereas the former probably found it far gone in decay.

The second half of the book might well have stood alone, as a third in Sir Mark's series of accounts of travels in Asiatic Turkey. The author presents in individual and incisive language a selection from his experiences, and gives many admirable descriptions of country, people, and conditions. Fond of Bedawi, Kurds, and Anatolian peasants, he dislikes Armenians, city-bred Turks, Germans, and the Bagdad Railway. Conservative, Catholic, and aristocratic, he believes that Turkish reformers have done much harm by replacing feudal lords with appointed officials and by inducing nomads to settle; that the education of Turks by "brain-clogged" schoolmasters and of Armenians by American Protestant missionaries is worse than useless; that in general western influences spoil Orientals. The Young Turks, under their "addle-pated Constitution", are "Gallic and Teutonic: Gallic in negation of religion, in insane attachment to phrases, in superficial logic, in purposeless irreverence; Teutonic in obstinate rigidity, in uncompromising woodenness, in brutal assertiveness".

The appendix contains a descriptive list of Kurdish tribes, based on much careful inquiry, but loosely classified, and revealing little study of the investigations of numerous predecessors. The Jenwis, legends of whom puzzled Sir Mark, were probably the Genoese. Many maps, prepared by the author, illustrate both portions of the book. The analytical index occupies forty-six pages.

A. H. Lybyer.

A Thousand Years of Russian History. By Sonia E. Howe. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1915, pp. xiv, 432.) A *Thousand Years of Russian History* begins with the year 862, the coming of Rurik, and ends with 1862, presumably so as to make it come out an even thousand. In order, however, not to leave the reader altogether up in the air there is a short supplementary chapter, "The Link", which gives in chronological order the important events in Russian history from 1862 to 1915. This is followed by chapters on the Dnieper and Don Cossacks, the Baltic Provinces, Poland, and Finland. The book is well got up, fully illustrated with thirteen full-page plates, twenty-eight other interesting illustrations, eight maps, and four historical charts.

The book is not a scholarly piece of work and it makes no contribution of any kind. Mrs. Howe is not a trained historian, she is not even deeply read in the subject which she treats. She wrote the book with the "bright hope of a closer alliance . . . between two mighty nations to both of which I belong—the one by birth, the other, no less, by mar-

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riage". A kind Russian friend showed her "short-cuts to knowledge by guiding me to the right sources of information", which are, so far as the reviewer is able to determine, the ordinary texts, studies by known and unknown writers, and diplomatic gossip. The author does not always know which of her sources to accept and which to reject and this lack of discrimination has led her to make, to put it charitably, a number of amusing statements, as, for example, "In 1809 he [Alexander I.] even wrote about his plan to George Washington" (p. 239); and when she quotes a diplomatist to the effect that Peter's marginal notes were "in so distinct a handwriting and so clear a style that even a child can comprehend them" (p. 99). Investigators are pretty much agreed that it is difficult to find a more illegible script than Peter's. There are no foot-notes, and the "List of Authorities" in the back does not help because neither the date nor the place of publication is given, and, in a few cases, not even the first name of the author.

From what has just been said it is quite evident that one should not apply the ordinary canons of historical criticism to this work. It is not a book for scholars and it was not intended for them. The aim of the author, as stated in the preface, was,

> to convey general impressions of the various stages passed through by Russia in the course of her evolution, and to give sketches of the lives of those rulers who have stamped their era with the mark of their personality . . . [and] to supply in some measure information regarding certain historical and economic facts on matters which puzzle the man in the street.

Judged by this standard the author has attained the object sought and has produced a popular book for the average reader, for the man in the street, for the woman in the reading circle. The book reads well and the many delicate feminine touches add a certain flavor.

F. A. Golder.

Marco Sanudo, Conqueror of the Archipelago. By John Knight Fotheringham, M.A., D.Litt., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, Reader in Ancient History, University of London, assisted by Laurence Frederic Rushbrook Williams, B.Litt., B.A., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1915, pp. 150.) Scholars interested in the Fourth Crusade will recall Fotheringham's article on "Genoa and the Fourth Crusade" in the *English Historical Review* six years ago. That article is the core of the present work and, except for the introductory paragraphs, is reprinted almost verbatim in chapters II., III., and IV.; there are some slight changes and a few pages are added. The remainder of the book is composed of a chapter on the origin of the House of Sanudo and two chapters on the career of Marco Sanudo in the Archipelago and in Crete; these chapters are almost entirely new. The appendix contains twenty pages of extracts from the authorities, of which the most important are from Venetian

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manuscripts. The list of works cited takes eight pages and there is a very full index covering sixteen pages.

In the words of the author the book "professes to be not history but historical research". Among the subjects on which he has "attempted to throw light" are,

> the origins of the Venetian families of Candiano and Sanudo, and, incidentally, the legend of the foundation of Venice and of Heraclea, and the topography of the neighbourhood of Ravenna; the relations of Guglielmo and Raynerio of Montferrat to the court of Constantinople and the nature of their fief or fiefs at Thessalonica; the policy of Venice in promoting the election of Baldwin as emperor and in negotiating the treaty of Adrianople with Boniface of Montferrat; the relations of the Venetian colony at Constantinople to the mother-city, and the policy adopted by Venice for conquests to be made either by the city or by its citizens; the attempts made by Genoa to secure a foothold in Romania; the conquest and organization of the Archipelago; the different Venetian, Genoese, and Naxiote expeditions to Crete during the career of Marco Sanudo, and, of course, the whole career of Marco Sanudo himself.

These quotations and the summary given above indicate the character of the work. It is distinctly a book of reference for a student and will have no charm for "the general reader". The author's opinion on a controverted subject will carry weight because of his critical study and use of sources hitherto neglected. Best of all, he gives full references both to the sources and to the secondary works so that the student can form his own opinion. The book is a valuable contribution.

DANA C. MUNRO.

A Short History of Belgium. By Leon Van der Essen, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of History, University of Louvain. (Chicago, University Press, 1915, pp. 168.) In June, 1915, according to the New York *Times*, there was a scarcity of books on Belgium, and that statement induced the University of Chicago to suggest to her guest-lecturer, Professor Van der Essen of Louvain, that he should supply the deficiency for the American public. The result of his work is a pleasant little volume covering the long story from the period of Julius Caesar's historic explanation of the reason why the Belgians were braver than other clans —namely, on account of their vicinity to the German frontier, down to the German Chancellor's equally famous explanation of the military necessity for the late intrusion over that same frontier. Naturally the narrative has, in its compactness, the defects of its qualities. For instance, the statement that Anthony of Brabant annexed Luxemburg to his other two duchies in 1409 by virtue of his marriage with Elizabeth of Görlitz, with the implication that from that date Luxemburg formed part of the Burgundian territories, is rather misleading as a description of the actual transfer of the duchy from one family of overlords to another. A different story is suggested by the series of complicated

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mortgages and temporary cessions, in consideration of money loaned or due from one cause or another, by which the duchy, treated as a mere estate, was held or claimed during thirty-five years before Elizabeth of Görlitz, an unprotected widow, ceded her rights to Philip of Burgundy, *bien qu'il ait voulu s'encuser,* for a large sum—not to speak of the other moneys that changed hands before the pretensions of William of Saxony, Ladislas Posthumus, Charles VII., and others were satisfied. Still Luxemburg is only fractionally linked with modern Belgium and the completed story, even in outline, might have infringed the limitations of space.

Again, in a trifling matter, an ancient tradition is permitted a foothold where it were better omitted—the tale of the Black Prince taking his feathers and device from the blind King of Bohemia, John of Luxemburg. It seems fairly well proved that *Ich Dien* was never a device of the Luxemburg family, and that the feathers worn by Count John were not waving ostrich plumes, familiar as the badge of the heirs to the English crown, but two stiff black vulture's wings. The application of the term *pennae* to both kinds of feathers probably caused the confusion.

The latter part of the narrative (pp. 119–167) is the most interesting. The experiences undergone by Belgium from the time of the Archdukes until she reached her independent and neutralized existence, were varied and interesting, while so little understood that their presentation in this simple concise form by an eminent authority on his own national history is very valuable and should be appreciated.

The Register of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, commonly called the Black Book. Edited by G. J. Turner, M.A., and Rev. H. E. Salter, M.A. Part I. [Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales, vol. II.] (London, Oxford University Press, the British Academy, 1915, pp. xliv, 377.) The Black Book of St. Augustine's, which is probably known more commonly as Faustina A I of the Cottonian collection, is a monastic register of exceptional interest. It "was for the most part compiled in the closing years of the thirteenth century, but numerous entries of later date" have been inserted (p. xiii). About four-fifths of that portion of the register printed in this volume consists of rentals and custumals of the estates of the abbey. These contribute some bits of evidence relative to urban life and commerce, such, for example, as lists of tolls charged at markets and ports (pp. 28, 29, 138) and an early copy of the customs of Fordwich (pp. 145–154); but they are chiefly valuable for the vast mass of detailed information about various aspects of manorial and agrarian organization. They are especially full on many slightly known manorial rents and services and they throw much light also on the Kentish field-system and methods of land-measurement. Some of this material has already been utilized to advantage by Vinogradoff, Neilson, and Gray, but it

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will richly repay further study. The remainder is made up of charters, royal writs dealing with the privileges, the exemptions, and the fiscal obligations of the abbey, accounts for taxes and other payments due the crown, valuations of property for the purpose of taxation, pleas in the king's courts, lists of knights' fees, ordinations of vicarages, and a few miscellaneous items.

The editors have done their work with the care and skill for which they are so justly noted. The text, with the exception of a few documents of later date and minor importance which are summarized in English, is reproduced in full, and, if the comparison of a dozen pages with photographs of the original gives sufficient basis for judgment, with great accuracy. The introduction written by Mr. Turner is devoted to a review of the charters by which the abbey acquired its estates. Most of these purport to have been issued in the Anglo-Saxon period, but the originals have been lost, and the copies now available present so many textual difficulties that suspicion has been cast upon their authenticity. Kemble brands many of them as probable forgeries, but Mr. Turner believes them genuine with few exceptions. He finds no motive for their forgery by the monks and contends that forgers would have described the boundaries of the monastic lands in terms clearer than those actually found in the charters. The "false names, wrong dates, interpolations and omissions" he ascribes to the work of blundering copyists. His critical analysis of the charters seems amply to justify his cautious conclusion that "until these charters have undergone minute criticism, we can draw few safe inferences from them in matters of detail; but we shall probably not be far wrong in accepting them as in the main a good provisional basis for the history of the estates of the abbey" (pp. xix, xx).

W. E. Lunt.

Conversations with Luther. Selections from the recently published Sources of the Table-Talk, translated and edited by Preserved Smith, Ph.D., and Herbert Percival Gallinger, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, Amherst College. (Boston, New York, and Chicago, the Pilgrim Press, 1915, pp. xxvii, 260.) If such a book was now to be compiled, Dr. Smith had good claim to a hand in it. His Columbia thesis (1907) is the best study in English of the sources for a knowledge of this table-talk; and his later books attest his possession of that familiarity with Luther's life and writings which alone could make safe the editor's task. This equipment shows in many a helpful note and in the sure touch of the sprightly introduction. It shows in the choice of matter. That matter is by no means all new; but even what is familiar appears now in the more authentic phrasing of its earliest reporter, and in place of the theological rubrics of the older collections we have now such more vital themes as "Luther's Childhood", "The Diet of Worms", "Contemporary Politics", "How the Table-Talk was Collected". And

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franker far than any earlier collection is this in its betrayal of the great man's failings—his superstition, his intolerance, his violence, his coarseness.

But was there now need for such a book? Nothing has like the Table-Talk fed the Luther legend—whether the legend of those who adore or the legend of those who detest. Imagine in our own day a series of student boarders taking down in their note-books every chance utterance of their professorial host, of course with all possible degrees of misapprehension and misquotation, and of course with especial attention to everything that flattered a prejudice or could lend a spice to gossip. Then imagine these notes, a score of years after the master's death, edited for the press by the latest, the most heedless, the most inventive of all the note-takers. Gustav Kawerau said of Aurifaber a few months ago that a modern editor who should take such liberties with his materials would be rated a forger. True, the work of modern scholars has brought to light many a manuscript whose contents antedate, as a whole or in part, this fusing and confusing editor. True, as the present editors urge, these earlier elements are now accessible in print and in large part have been critically edited for the great Weimar edition of Luther. But the three volumes there published of the Table-Talk not only lack all the dated jottings after 1538 and the great mass of undated ones; they lack the editors' studies as to the evolution of the collection and the relative authenticity of its parts; they lack the indexes which will first make possible any fruitful comparative study. The note-takers themselves betray to us how their officious activity dismayed the judicious Melanchthon and irritated loyal Frau Käthe. Even their hero, it is clear, tolerated them with a half-amused contempt. The sober historian must grieve that a man who as no other in history stands revealed to us through his own pen and through able contemporaries, friend and foe, should still become known through such irresponsible tattle. Yet it is something that it now finds editors so honest.

GEORGE L. BURR.

The Official Papers of Sir Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Norfolk, as Justice of the Peace, 1580–1620. Selected and edited for the Royal Historical Society from Original Papers formerly in the Collection of the Marquess Townsend, by H. W. Saunders, M.A., F.R. Hist. S. [Camden Third Series, vol. XXVI.] (London, the Society, 1915, pp. xlii, 255.) We are familiar with the general statement that the justices of the peace of Tudor and Stuart times were busy officials. This volume gives abundant proof of the truth of that statement. The gentry who were placed on the commission of the peace were also given various other duties by an active and ambitious government which had few officials at its disposal except these gentlemen of the locality. It is not always easy therefore to distinguish between their services performed as justices of the peace and those performed as commissioners for musters

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or for the search for recusants or for restraining the export of corn or wool or for collecting subsidies or for making purveyance for the royal household or for administering the poor law or for impressing mariners for the navy. In all of these local affairs, Sir Nathaniel Bacon, son of Sir Nicholas and half-brother of Francis, a typical member of the rural gentry and justice of the peace of the county of Norfolk, was busy in the years from 1580 to 1620. He was also twice sheriff of the county, four times member of Parliament, and for thirty years one of the government commissioners for the building, repairing, and extension of dikes and piers, and for the collection of funds for the purpose in that seaboard region.

The 150 documents published in this volume are selected from a collection of more than twice that number, themselves the surviving part of a still larger body of records of Bacon's activity, a part of which has been lost. A large proportion represent negotiations initiated originally by the Privy Council. They give therefore in a certain sense the converse of the *Acts of the Privy Council*, the actual results of the orders issued by that body. It is plainly to be seen from them, what we already know from other sources, not only that the council interested itself deeply in local affairs, but that the intentions of the central government of the Tudors and Stuarts, strong as that government was, were frequently blocked by the silent opposition of local authorities.

One of the most interesting and suggestive groups of documents is the series concerning the collection of subsidies. The persistent and extreme under-assessment of landowners and the steady decline of the amount of these taxes during a period when the value of land was rapidly increasing is one of the puzzles of the period. If the landowning classes had been fully assessed the income of Elizabeth and James would have been beyond the needs of their government, and their revenue would have risen more rapidly than the growing expenses of government. Why was this not done? The papers published here and the editorial comment upon them make the facts of this low assessment clear; they do nothing toward explaining it. The editorial work of Mr. Saunders in this volume is excellently done, the documents are grouped in such a way as best to bring out their significance, there are some useful notes, and there is a good explanatory introduction.

E. P. Cheyney.

Angliiskaia Palata Obshchin pri Tudorakh i Stuartakh. By K. A. Kuznetsov. (Odessa, 1915, pp. xxiv, 320.) Mr. Kuznetsov's dissertation is based upon exceedingly thorough study, not only of the usual books and of the pamphlet literature of the period concerned, but of a great number of manuscripts in the British Museum and the Public Record Office, especially a considerable number of the many manuscript reports of debates in the parliaments of James I. and Charles I., kept by individual members of Parliament. So many quotations from the latter

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are made in English in the foot-notes, that even a student who knows no Russian may derive valuable items of knowledge from the book. It treats, more fully and more thoroughly than anyone has hitherto treated in English, the whole range of law and practice respecting the House of Commons in Tudor and Stuart times—the constitution of the House (including representation and elections), its powers, privileges, and procedure. There is no index.

A History of South Africa from the Earliest Days to Union. By William Charles Scully. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1915, pp. xv, 327.) Mr. W. C. Scully aims in this book to provide the student and the general reader with a "concise, consecutive narrative" of the history of South Africa in a single volume. It makes no pretense to originality, drawing its material avowedly from the standard histories of Theal and Cory and from Leibbrandt's précis of the archives. It should be borne in mind, however, that as a pioneer and magistrate the author works on a background of wide experience. Yet, in some respects, his special equipment for his task is not without its disadvantages. It leads him to take too many things for granted; for example, the distinction between Bushmen, Hottentots, Kaffirs, Zulus, and various other colored folk in South Africa, and the meaning of various terms such as landdrost. A word of explanation on such points would have been more to the purpose than to enlighten the reader on the Edict of Nantes. Indeed, the sense of proportion is decidedly faulty. Numberless inconsequential jottings might have been spared, particularly since the Boer War is disposed of in less than a paragraph. On the other hand, the causes of the outbreak are outlined clearly and with conspicuous fairness. In general, Mr. Scully wields an impartial pen, though the standpoint of an administrator is manifest in his strictures on those, missionaries and others, who have idealized the natives. The book seems to be commendably free from errors; nevertheless it is misleading to speak of the war of the Spanish Succession as "the twelve years' war between Holland and France" (p. 53).

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

The French Army before Napoleon. Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford in Michaelmas Term, 1914. By Spenser Wilkinson, Chicele Professor of Military History, Fellow of All Souls College. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1915, pp. 151.) The seven lectures brought together by Professor Wilkinson in book form are of somewhat unequal quality. The second is by far the best. In this he rescues the Duc de Broglie from quite unmerited oblivion and exposes lucidly, with sympathy and understanding, the considerable place which this general merits in the evolution of the military art. And we think the author right in emphasizing Broglie, and his quartermaster Bourcet, among the teachers whom Napoleon followed. The remaining lectures are

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not so good. Nor is there a convincingly built up central current of ideas. Professor Wilkinson has been one of the few responsible persons in England who has during the present war pointed out that the training of the officer is the mainspring of the modern army. He might well have shown what were the conditions in the eighteenth century that enabled armies to operate with officers of low training, and what were the conditions that made for an increasing demand that this defect should be remedied. In this he would have found a connecting link between the past and the present. As it is one feels that his work is somewhat lacking in theoretical cohesion.

J.

Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk. Door P. J. Blok. Tweede Druk. Vierde Deel. (Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff, [1916], pp. 588.) The seventh and eighth volumes of the standard history of the Netherlands, by Professor Blok of Leiden, were published in 1907 and 1908 respectively. This fourth volume of the second edition embraces the material contained in volumes VII. and VIII. of the first, with very little change. The period of Dutch history covered, that extending from the organization of the Batavian Republic in 1795 to the present day, has not been remade by any revolutionary discoveries during the past eight years. In most pages the only difference between the two editions is that, for the earlier period, the twenty years from the extinction of the stadholderate to the erection of the monarchy, Professor Blok can now refer in his foot-notes to Dr. Colenbrander's *De Bataafsche Republiek* (1908) and still more to the remarkable and voluminous collection of *Gedenkstukken,* edited by that same industrious scholar, which forms such a model of organization for documentary collections in national and international history and such a mine for the historian. For the years 1813–1815, new information is derived from General Koolemans Beijnen's *Historisch Gedenkboek* and Dr. Colenbrander's *Ontstaan der Grondwet.* But the chief addition is in the few pages setting forth, soberly and discreetly, the history of the last eight years, even to the measures for guarding neutrality in the present war. The appendixes on the sources of knowledge have been revised; the excellent maps are repeated without change. The typographical appearance of the second edition is somewhat less attractive than that of the first; but the substantial merits of Professor Blok's well-established work are all there and still conspicuous —learning, insight, judgment, fairness of mind, breadth of view over the national life, a proper perspective in international relations, and a clear and dignified though neither imaginative nor distinguished style.

La Science Française. Two volumes. (Paris, Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, 1915, pp. 397, 405.) The French Ministry of Public Instruction prepared, as a part of its exhibit at the San Francisco Exposition, a library of those books which might be said to constitute the

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chief landmarks and results of the progress of the sciences in France. It was a large and impressive collection. The thirty-three essays which compose the two volumes under notice were prepared to accompany the respective sections of that library. Each presents an account of the history of a particular science in France, followed by a bibliography of French achievement in that department, including the volumes in the special collection referred to, together with others, and accompanied by excellent portraits of the chief luminaries. It is a goodly company; and it is useful to remember, in a year when American sympathy and admiration for French character and action are at their highest, the boundless debt which the modern world owes also to the achievements of the French intellect. As one turns these pages, he is reminded of Frenchmen who have been the founders of whole branches of science, of Descartes, Lavoisier, Champollion, Ampère, Lamarck, Pasteur; of historians, students of literature, philologians; of fields in which Frenchmen have been supreme—Sinology, let us say, or Egyptology; of those qualities of sanity, repose, measure, clarity, grace, which the French mind has brought to every field; in a word, of a mature and deep-based culture which does not require a special definition of the word. The surveys of the individual sciences are by competent hands—that of French historical work by M. Langlois, for instance, that of classical archaeology by M. Max Collignon, that of Greek studies by M. Alfred Croiset—and serve in almost every instance to bring out clearly the peculiar quality of the French contribution to the particular branch of knowledge. Indeed, it is a French quality that can make, out of what is by origin a handbook to a section of a fair, a work attractive and valuable to the student of the history of science and of scholarship.

Government and Politics of the German Empire. By Fritz-Konrad Krüger, Doktor der Staatswissenschaften. [Government Handbooks, edited by David P. Barrows and Thomas H. Reed.] (Yonkers-on-Hudson and New York, World Book Company, 1915, pp. xi, 340.) Without hesitation one may concur in the opinion of the editors of the *Government Handbooks* series that the attention of the American people "has been too exclusively fixed upon their own government and its problems". And equally without hesitation one may express commendation of the enterprise which lies behind the preparation of the forthcoming series and of the general plan which is proposed to be followed. Should the quality attained in the initial volume be sustained throughout the series, the project will have been worth while. The plan as announced imposes the requirement that the volumes shall be "handbooks". In Dr. Krüger's *Government and Politics of the German Empire* one, accordingly, does not expect to discover a monumental, or even a comprehensive, treatise. What one does look for, and find, is a series of brief chapters setting forth the salient facts of German constitutional history, political structure, administrative functions and processes, party organization, and

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foreign policy. To one who is conversant with German public affairs the book offers very little that is new; although its characterizations of institutions and its summaries of developments are likely to prove useful. Younger students and persons in quest of easily accessible information—and for such Dr. Krüger has written—will find the book satisfactorily arranged, of such degree of readableness as is consistent with the bald enumeration of facts, and exceptionally free from inaccuracies of statement. The author is of German extraction, and the book has been written from the German viewpoint. Since almost all other writings on the German governmental system which are available in English are the work of non-Germans, this is fortunate. To Dr. Krüger's credit it must be said that most of the time he is as moderate and impartial as one should wish him to be. There are, however, lapses. In glorifying Emperor William II. as a guardian of international peace, and in emphasizing the necessity of Germany's military and naval aggrandizement, it would have been well to hint that these are matters upon which opinion is divided. And in dealing with the domestic politics of the Empire sympathy lies somewhat too plainly with the National Liberal party. Personal opinion, which has proper place in most kinds of books on political subjects, is hardly to be desired in a manual. Appended to the text is a critical bibliography which is reasonably complete and substantially accurate. The author appears not to have been aware (p. 278) that before his book was published an English translation of Treitschke's *Deutsche Geschichte* was in press.

FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG.

North America during the Eighteenth Century: a Geographical History. By T. Crockett, M.A., and B. C. Wallis, B.Sc. (Cambridge, University Press, 1915, pp. viii, 116.) A condensed, interesting discussion of the settlement of North America, of the long struggle between the French and the English for possession of the continent, and of the War for American Independence is here presented. Of the twelve brief chapters, ten are almost wholly historical and two are mainly geographical. Into the historical chapters more than the usual amount of geography is woven. While the little book is a commendable effort to correlate history and geography, it is not quite clear why it was written. It presents nothing new in facts or in principles. Miss Semple's *American History and its Geographic Conditions* treats most of the same topics and with greater fullness.

Several of the sketch maps are helpful (figs. 1, 3, 10, 11, 14, and 22), but some of them seem much distorted because they are not oriented. Only one of the maps contains a scale of miles. Every map should contain a scale of miles and *north* should be toward the top of the map. If the latter is seriously inconvenient, then the customary index arrow should indicate the north. The disregard of these conventions robs any map of a large part of its value.

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Some errors have crept in: *e. g.*, we are told that the Mohawk joins the Hudson at the 100-foot level (p. 4). The junction is at the 20-foot level. Again (p. 8), we are told that an embayed coast-line indicates that "the land is encroaching upon the sea", while, as a matter of fact, it shows the opposite. The map, figure 15, places Wyoming in western New York. This Wyoming is of later origin; the Wyoming of colonial days is the one in eastern Pennsylvania.

A feature of the book which deserves high commendation is its fairness to those who were enemies of the English. The writers, both Englishmen, bestow praise and censure with equal fairness upon French, English, or Americans.

R. H. WHITBECK.

An American Garland, being a Collection of Ballads relating to America, 1563–1759. Edited with Introduction and Notes by C. H. Firth, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, University of Oxford. (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1915, pp. xlvii, 91.) This attractive and scholarly little volume is concerned with the popular ballads which were printed on broadsides and passed from hand to hand, or given a somewhat longer lease of life by being posted on the walls of houses or inns. As Professor Firth points out in his interesting introduction, the preserving and collecting of these fugitive pieces was a favorite diversion of many distinguished Englishmen of our colonial era, including Selden, Pepys, Dryden, and that hardheaded Tory politician, Robert Harley, earl of Oxford. Many of these collections have naturally disappeared, but others are still preserved in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and other depositories. From various sources, including his own notable collection, the editor has drawn twenty-two pieces of considerable interest to students of colonial history, though no attempt has been made to include the contemporary products of the American press. A majority of them have been reprinted before but they are as a rule not accessible except in large libraries.

After extended searches, Professor Firth has reached the conclusion that comparatively few of these seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ballads dealt with American themes. In general the pieces here printed fall into four groups. The first begins with a highly idealized portrait of that picturesque Elizabethan adventurer Thomas Stukeley, and ends in 1612, with "London's Lotterie", written in the interest of the newly reorganized Virginia colony. Their main motive is the awakening of interest in America as a fit field for English energy and patriotism, with the final note: "We hope to plant a nation where none before hath stood". The second group depicts the Puritan and Quaker emigration from the point of view of the Cavalier or the unregenerate "man in the street" who thought England none the worse off for the departure of "all that putrifidean sect", the "counterfeit elect". There is a similar cynical note in the "Quakers' Farewel to England". The Quakers

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were to give the Indians the benefit of their new "Lights", but always with an eye to the main chance, their "fill of riches and great possessions". The unwilling emigrants and the unhappy fate of the indented servants apparently made a marked impression on their contemporaries at home and are commemorated in six of Mr. Firth's ballads. There are the "Maydens of London" who apparently withdrew under some pressure from the Puritan authorities, the scold whose husband found relief in shipping her to "Virginny", and the unlucky lad who was banished by a "hardhearted judge" and "sold for a slave in Virginia". Except for the ballad of "The Four Indian Kings" suggested by the well-known visit of the Iroquois chiefs to Queen Anne, the dramatic possibilities of the French and Indian Wars apparently were not much appreciated until the struggle was nearly over, when the death of Wolfe in the supreme moment of victory at last stirred the popular imagination, calling forth five of the ballads here printed, all from the editor's own collection.

Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Volume XVII. *Transactions,* 1913–1914. (Boston, the Society, 1915, pp. xi, 458.) No volumes of transactions of any American historical society, perhaps no volumes of any historical society in the world, are better edited than those of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. They reflect the greatest credit upon the work of Mr. Albert Matthews as editor. One always finds the statements of the texts accompanied by every needed reference or other annotation; the index is singularly complete; and all matters of form are regulated with much nicety and good taste. In respect to the substance of these *Transactions,* one has to remember that the field of Massachusetts history prior to 1775 is already the best-raked field in American history. It is therefore refreshing to come upon such a paper as that of Professor Turner, now president of the society, an inquiry into the First Official Frontier of the Massachusetts Bay, made from the point of view of a constant student of the "Significance of the Frontier", and marked everywhere by penetrating insight into frontier conditions. The paper studies the official definitions and regulations of the frontier, especially about the close of the seventeenth century, the relation of military defense and extension of settlement, the sequence of frontier types, the progressive expansion of the settled area and advance of its boundary, the economic and political resemblances to the subsequent evolution of the West.

Of some 400 pages of text in the volume, one hundred is occupied with Mr. Matthews's Notes on the Massachusetts Royal Commissions, 1681–1775, illuminating with minute and accurate detail the history of each of the documents presented in the society's recent volume of commissions. Another hundred pages consists of Mr. Matthews's discussion of the Term Pilgrim Fathers and Early Celebrations of Forefathers' Day. In this paper, by patient and careful study of a multitude of

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passages from writings and newspapers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, especially of accounts of the celebrations, Mr. Matthews furnishes the reader with much exact information regarding the origin of the term Pilgrim Fathers, a term apparently unknown till near the close of the eighteenth century, regarding the history of the term, its propriety and meaning, and regarding the reasons for the distinction commonly drawn between Pilgrim and Puritan. In this last field the need of exact data has been great; assertions of various sorts have habitually been made with the utmost positiveness, for which there is no sufficient foundation.

Among the other contents of the volume may be noted a text, supplied by Mr. W. C. Ford, of the diary kept by Washington from May 1 to July 31, 1786; a paper by Mr. Matthews on French at Harvard College before 1750; and a statement by Mr. Andrew M. Davis concerning the history of the state's edition of the *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.*

George Washington, Farmer: being an Account of his Home Life and Agricultural Activities. By Paul Leland Haworth. (Indianapolis, the Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1915, pp. 336.) Mr. Haworth has written a readable book on his subject, and it is frankly intended to be readable rather than a guide to the agriculture of Mount Vernon. Items from Washington's account-books, extracts from his correspondence, and opinions drawn from contemporary visitors give a firm foundation to the chapters on farming; to which is added not a little decoration obtained from tradition and gossip, the quality not always of the best. Mr. Haworth claims that Washington was "one of the first experimental agriculturalists, always alert for better methods, willing to take any amount of pains to find the best fertilizer, the best way to avoid plant diseases, the best methods of cultivation". He begins by showing how Washington obtained his vast land holdings and in ten chapters considers him as a student of agriculture, as a man anxious to improve the soil and produce, an anxiety sharpened by necessity, a master of overseers and slaves, and a proprietor of an estate intended to contain within itself the elegancies, conveniences, and economic independence which tradition gave to an English estate, but much modified by Virginian conditions and long periods of absentee management. Mr. Haworth believes that Washington was a successful farmer, but he judges more by the home or Mount Vernon estate than by the returns from the entire property, and the occasional figures given are not convincing, in face of the opinions of trained English farmers and Washington's regular note of complaint of not being able to make good his expenditures. There is room for a careful study of plantation economy in Virginia for this period of change from tobacco to grain, and the Washington papers will be the best source of exact information. Mr. Haworth has prepared an interesting sketch of the situation,

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but his book concerns Washington at Mount Vernon rather than Washington as a farmer.

G. U. E.

The United States Navy, from the Revolution to Date. By Francis J. Reynolds. (New York, P. F. Collier and Son, 1915, folio, pp. 144.) This book is a pictorial history of the American navy, and covers the period from 1775 until the present time. Its pictures illustrate every phase of naval activity. Many of them are reproductions of early prints found in the collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library, U. S. Navy Department, Washington, D. C. Of recent pictures, many are from the copyrights of E. Muller, jr., and a few from the bureaus of the Navy Department in Washington and from the Naval Training Station at Newport. The selection embraces not only such usual subjects as naval portraits, naval vessels, and sea-fights, but also the less common ones of mines, hospital service, wireless telegraphy, wrecks, torpedoes, torpedo-boats, target practice, submarines, mines, aviation, coaling, and the naval academy. The choice of pictures is most excellent, and the reproductions are skillfully done.

Accompanying the pictures is a brief sketch of the navy, and an introduction by Rear-Admiral Austin M. Knight, president of the Naval War College. Touching upon the present war and the rivalry between the submarine and the battleship, Admiral Knight makes some exceedingly interesting comments. He is of the opinion that the spectacular successes of the submarine have greatly exaggerated its importance, and that the dreadnought, which he calls the "backbone of the fleet", is not likely to be superseded.

The Recognition Policy of the United States. By Julius Goebel, jr., Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, vol. LXVI., no. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1915, pp. 228.) This monograph undertakes the examination of two distinct problems: the first attempts a legal theory of recognition, the second traces the policy of the United States in the recognition of new states and governments. The recognition of belligerency finds no place in either part, having, the author thinks, "but slight relation to the main problem both for theoretical and historical reasons". This is by no means obvious, for it would seem that in the United States, at least, recognition of belligerency, and of insurgency also, is in fact closely related to the recognition of new states and governments. In the first chapter are set forth the successive stages through which the doctrine of legitimacy has passed: dynastic, monarchic, and the legitimacy of existing governments, to which may be added a fourth, the legitimacy of government resting upon some theory, as, *e. g.*, the consent of the governed. When the writer attempts a juristic basis for recognition he is not so easily followed. The

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terminology of Jellinek is not easily turned into English, and without some background of *Das Recht des Modernen Staates* the author's endeavors to frame a theory will not be readily responded to. Yet he has a theory, and to that extent he makes a contribution. The origins of all states are formally illegal; the breach of law is healed "by virtue of the two great motive forces, the normative power of facts and the transformance into political reality of abstract legal principles". Recognition is neither constitutive, as Bonfils would have it, nor a mere formality, as Jellinek says, but something in between—not the admission into a society of states, as Huber maintains, nor an agreement, according to Triepel—but a "self-imposed obligation to regard as binding those processes which had gone on within the new state itself", *i. e.*, "by recognition the legal breach caused by the creation of the new state is formally healed". Some might say that this is a painful elaboration of the obvious.

Turning to the historical part we learn some new things: France's action in 1778 was not premature recognition; *de facto* recognition is not, as is generally thought, the result of a doctrine of non-intervention nor an outgrowth of the underlying principles of neutrality, but a development of the Jeffersonian principle of the right of revolution. That "the Spanish negotiations were of ultimate importance in the recognition of South America" (p. 142) is at least naïve, for it is the main thesis of Professor Paxson's well-known book, which although cited in the bibliography is not elsewhere referred to. Jackson's message of February 6, 1837, has, the writer thinks, "never been fully appreciated" (p. 163), but surely a good deal of attention has been paid to it since it was uttered. In many respects one wishes the writer had given fewer expressions of personal opinion and greater attention to the more or less normative force of facts.

J. S. R.

Voting in the Field: a Forgotten Chapter of the Civil War. By Josiah Henry Benton, LL.D. (Boston, privately printed, 1915, pp. 332.) This is an adequate study of an important phase of Civil War history. The subject is treated from every aspect, the constitutional question, the mechanics of the various systems, and politics, being the most important. It is one of the few monographs that treats the country as a whole, discussing identical questions arising in the Northern and Southern states. The material is definitive as far as it goes, and the gaps are recognized, and are such as can be filled in only by accidental discoveries. Especially commendable is the extensive use of judicial decisions. The body of the work consists of detailed studies of the several states, arranged in an order which the reviewer cannot understand. The summary chapters at the beginning and end are less satisfactory. Chapter III., entitled Small Union Majority, is somewhat misleading in classifying the Unionists of the Border as Republicans, but this classification is not

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unsound for the purposes for which it is used. On the first line of page 161 "Republican" should be "Democratic".

The author calls attention to the fact that the soldier vote was smaller than might have been expected. It was largest proportionately in Iowa, and tended to be larger in the West than in the East. It determined very few elections, but among them was that abolishing slavery in Maryland, and one of considerable importance electing a chief justice in Wisconsin. Mr. Benton, who finds the period treated "very near" to him, uses language of some vigor in dealing with the Democratic opposition to granting the soldier the right to vote, but it is not stronger than the subject seems to demand. In justice to the Democratic masses, as opposed to their leaders, however, he might have pointed out that whenever the question came to popular vote, although the opposition vote was undoubtedly, as he says, almost, if not wholly, Democratic, it was never so large as the normal Democratic vote. Thousands of Democrats refused to follow the partizan tactics of their leaders on this, as on many other questions. On controverted points he is generally convincing, in fact he carried the reviewer at every point. The background is not always sure, but detracts little from the essential merit of the contribution.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Theodore Roosevelt: the Logic of his Career. By Charles G. Washburn. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, pp. 245.) We are told on the "jacket" of this volume that it is,

> a book that stands alone as a fresh, graphic character study of piquant frankness. Written with a zest that recalls the style of the Ex-president himself, it will have a popular appeal such as few biographies possess, while the fresh light it throws on the Colonel's career will be a revelation to his closest followers.

As a matter of fact, ten minutes' reading will suffice to disprove every assertion in the foregoing statement. It is pure advertising cant. In the first place, the book is in no sense a biography, for it comprises only a thinly sketched outline of the subject's career, taking for granted in the reader a knowledge of all the actual events. In the second place, it is not a record of personal association, for beyond a paltry interchange of a few letters, it has nothing in the nature of a friend's reminiscences and cannot for an instant be compared to such a work as Riis's. Not only is there nothing that "will be a revelation to his closest followers" but there is nothing that the public does not already know abundantly. In the third place, the style recalls nothing so little as that of the Ex-President. It is so moderate and colorless as to make the contrast with the numerous quotations of full Rooseveltian pungency almost ludicrous. The only conceivable "popular appeal" to be found in the book, lies in the utterances of the Colonel there embedded, not in the text. Such fatuous advertising discredits the book and the firm that publishes it.

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The author's true purpose seems to be to set forth the "logic" or, in other words, logical consistency of Mr. Roosevelt's career by means of marshalling his utterances upon public questions and showing their substantial soundness as well as their rectitude and honesty. Great attention is devoted to elucidating his favorable attitude toward capital and labor, and so far as possible toward the tariff, through quotations, mainly brief. "Preparedness" and the "Big Stick" are brought well to the front and the doctrine of the recall of judicial decisions is shown in its true light as harmless. If the book was not written to show the essential conservatism underlying Roosevelt's record and his fitness to deserve the confidence of all financially responsible elements, as well as those desirous of a vigorous foreign policy—in other words, to support his candidacy for the Republican nomination at this juncture—its appearance can only be described as an interesting coincidence. While the tone of the book is not wholly uncritical in places, it is plainly that of a firm believer in the true modesty and self-sacrifice of Mr. Roosevelt's career, and it certainly fails to suggest, even remotely, the more aggressive and combative features of his record.

T. C. Smith.

The Tin-Plate Industry: a Comparative Study of its Growth in the United States and in Wales. By D. E. Dunbar. [Hart, Schaffner, and Marx Prize Essays, vol. XX.] (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915, pp. 133.) The origin of the tin-plate industry being coincident with the enactment of a protective duty on tin plate by the McKinley Act of 1890, the industry has been treated by protectionists in the United States as a classic example of what the protective tariff can accomplish by way of planting an entirely new industry which, starting with nothing, has in the short space of two decades grown to the extent of meeting the entire domestic demand for its product and is now competing for the world markets with its once formidable Welsh rival.

The author's viewpoint is frankly anti-protectionist. His conclusions, however, are not based on dogmatic argumentation, but on a thorough presentation of facts, giving the reader abundant opportunity to form his own judgment of the causes of the phenomenal success of our tin-plate industry.

A sketch of the origin and growth of tin-plate making takes us back to the seventeenth century and describes each step in the technical process as practised in Europe and particularly in Wales, which enjoyed practically a monopoly of tin-plate making until the leadership was wrested from it by the United States. Chapter II. reviews the growth of the industry throughout the world since 1890 and is replete with statistical data showing production, number of workers employed, exports, imports, etc. This is followed by a review of the technical development during that period as influenced particularly by the improve-

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ments in machinery and methods of production introduced in the United States.

In the chapter (IV.) on Labor we are shown how in the face of increased tariff rates wages of various grades of labor have either barely held their own or but slightly advanced, while improvements in machinery were greatly reducing the labor cost. The next chapter shows how, with the aid of the tariff, combinations, followed by complete monopolistic control through the consolidation of all the plants in the industry in the American Tin Plate Company, resulted in the piling up of enormous profits on a fourfold overcapitalized industry. The complete elimination of the once powerful labor union as a factor in the determination of terms of employment followed the absorption of the American Tin Plate Company by the United States Steel Corporation.

In contrast with that, the author shows how under free trade the industry in Wales, first staggering under the blow of the loss of the American market, has regained its former prosperity under competitive conditions, with labor continuing a strong factor in the industry and increasing its wages from 25 to 33 per cent.

The book is a most valuable contribution to the history of the American tariff and throws much light on many mooted questions in economics. It should equally appeal to the student of labor problems, to the student of economic history, and to those interested in questions of industrial efficiency.

N. I. Stone.

The County Archives of the State of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. XII., Bibliographical Series, vol. II.] (Springfield, Ill., Illinois State Historical Library, 1915, pp. xiv, 730.) The present work is the result of the efforts of several workers employed by the Illinois Historical Survey scattered over a period of four years, and the one in whose name it is put out explains that his relation to it has been in large measure that of editor of material supplied him by others. The volume consists of a somewhat exhaustive report upon the archives of the 102 counties of Illinois, together with the general conclusions deduced from the detailed collection of data thus set forth. The investigation was undertaken for the twofold purpose of compiling "a detailed account of the materials of interest to the social scientist to be found in the various county court-houses", and of determining whether the conditions surrounding these records "are such as will insure their preservation". Both objects would seem to have been amply realized. As to the latter of the two, the investigation reveals that in Illinois in a large proportion of cases all too little is being done to secure the preservation of the county records. Of ninety-five court-houses, forty-one are "apparently fireproof"; ten are "doubtful"; and forty-four "make no pretense of

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being fireproof". Remembering the fire which destroyed the records at Albany one can but wonder how many of the forty-one elect really deserve the somewhat dubious approval placed upon them by the editor.

The facts set forth in the volume shed a flood of light upon the archival situation with respect to local units of government in what may be regarded as a typical middle-western state, and the book constitutes an exceedingly useful reference work to all who are actively interested in the subject. One other consideration may be worth noting. The prosecution of state-directed historical study, supported by public taxation, is being pushed more vigorously in the group of middle-western states contiguous to Illinois than anywhere else in the country. The publication of the results of such practical investigations as the one under discussion affords the best justification for such public support. The ideal which animated the compilers of the present work stands at the opposite pole from that of the older "drum and trumpet" school of historians. In the broadest possible sense they have labored to make possible the writing of a history of that section of the "American people" resident in the state of Illinois.

Texas versus White: a Study in Legal History. By William Whatley Pierson, jr., Ph.D., Instructor in History, University of North Carolina. (Durham, N. C., the Seeman Printery, 1916, pp. 103.) This is one of the numerous theses for the degree of doctor of philosophy which are published as monographs upon topics of American history. Its merit consists in research in the public documents of Texas relating to the facts out of which arose the case of Texas against White (7 Wallace 500). The writer has collected material of value to students of Reconstruction and of the biographies of American lawyers. The quotations from the arguments of counsel are also useful since they are not contained in the official report. So also is the reference to their abridgment in 25 Texas (Supp.) reports (pp. 484–591), which is not generally known beyond that state. This was prepared by one of the counsel, George W. Paschal, and published shortly after the decision in a volume with a not too modest preface. Since Dr. Pierson is evidently not a lawyer, he should not be severely criticized for omitting any reference to the reports of the lawyers' co-operative edition of the reports of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, which contain in volume LXXIV. a shorter abstract of these arguments.

The discussion of the constitutional questions involved in the decision is by no means exhaustive nor original and in its present form might well have been omitted. The bibliography is very incomplete and consists mostly of secondary authorities. Neither McPherson's *History of the Rebellion* nor McPherson's *History of Reconstruction* is there mentioned although there is a reference to the former in the body of the essay. The book does not refer to Madison's report of 1799 which was presented to the legislature of Virginia (*Report of the Committee to*

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which were referred the Communications of Various States relative to the Resolutions of the General Assembly of this State, concerning the Alien and Sedition Laws).

The citation for the resolutions themselves is to a recent compilation. There are many notable omissions of the titles of works that discuss the doctrine expounded in that memorable decision.

The American Year Book: a Record of Events and Progress, 1915. Edited by Francis G. Wickware, with Co-operation of a Supervisory Board representing National Learned Societies. (New York, Appleton, 1916, pp. xviii, 862.) This is the sixth issue of this valuable annual. It is prepared with the same intelligence and care as its predecessors, the staff of writers remains a competent one in spite of inevitable changes, and the forms of organization and arrangement remain nearly constant, in spite of the fact that the Great War, casting its shadow over the whole world, bulks large in the contents of many subdivisions and, rightly, gives them an abnormal composition. Thus, of the largest section, that on American history, by the editor of the volume, seven-eighths is taken up with the reactions of the European war in America. But this is American history in a special sense, and of the work of the other 124 contributors, nearly all is American history—political, diplomatic, administrative, legal, economic, financial, social, and intellectual. Papers on the history of other countries during the same year are well managed, and there is, in a section of twenty-two pages, an excellent survey of the European war by "a military officer with a record of naval service, who for professional reasons writes pseudonymously". Social, economic, and industrial problems are treated with a wide variety of detail, and with a fair supply of statistics. In sum, the manual is excellently adapted to its purpose and full of value for the student of the year. The accounts of the progress of the sciences and of literary development, though they fill some 160 pages of the book, seem to contain nothing respecting the historical writings of the year.

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COMMUNICATION

To the Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review*:

Dear Sir:

Mr. Mooney's notice of my book entitled *The Fighting Cheyennes* contains certain errors of statement which perhaps should be set right.

For example, he says, "In 1837 matched against Indians, they were completely routed by the Kiowas, a smaller tribe, with the loss of every man of their best warrior company". Mr. Mooney does not say that the "48 men" of this warrior company were the only Cheyennes in this fight and that they were surrounded by the whole Kiowa tribe and killed to a man. To term this a rout of the Cheyennes by the Kiowas seems inexact. The testimony of old-time white Indian fighters seems conclusive that of all the Indians of the plains, the Cheyennes were the bravest and the best fighters, from the white man's point of view.

He speaks of the Forsyth fight, where Colonel Forsyth, with fifty-odd plainsmen, "fighting on foot in the open", held off some five hundred picked warriors. Just what is meant by "in the open" is uncertain. The scouts, with repeating arms, fought behind breastworks, while the Indians—three-fourths of whom were armed with bows and arrows—fought on the bare prairie, without any cover.

Mr. Mooney's choice of the named *Record of Engagements* to support his views is not happy; for that pamphlet contains many errors.

The account of the arrival of the Cheyennes at the Medicine Lodge Treaty (1867) is criticized, yet their coming was late. The account given by Senator Henderson, and his statement that he thought "we were in peril" will amuse anyone acquainted with the old-time customs of plains Indians. Neither Senator Henderson nor the reviewer of the book seems to have been aware that in those days a charge such as is here described—Indians yelling and firing their guns—was a sign of friendship. Not less odd is the statement that every man had a belt of cartridges around his waist, and a small bunch fastened at his wrist. In the year 1867 not twenty-five per cent. of these Indians possessed guns, and of these guns not one per cent.—perhaps not one-half of one per cent.—was other than a muzzle-loader. Practically none were breachloaders using metal cartridges. Obviously the practice of carrying cartridges in a belt around the waist arose only after fixed ammunition came into use, and it is perfectly certain that when the senator—or anyone else—gave a description of this kind, he was unconsciously drawing on his imagination and talking about conditions as they prevailed among the white men a few years later.

The book under review states that the 7th Cavalry was present as an

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escort, and this is true notwithstanding Mr. Mooney's statement that it was the 7th Infantry.

There are mistakes enough in the book under discussion, but its critics do not seem yet to have found them.

GEO. BIRD GRINNELL.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

From June 18 to September 17, the address of the managing editor of this journal will be "North Edgecomb, Maine". Telegrams and express parcels should be addressed "Wiscasset, Maine".

We venture to mention once more that the *Index* to volumes XI.–XX. of this journal (1905–1915) has been published, in a volume of 219 pages. It has been prepared with great care and fulness, and we should suppose it to be indispensable to all who make serious use of the volumes named. Paper-bound copies of this or of the preceding *Index* (to vols. I.–X.) may be obtained from the publishers, the Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Avenue, New York, at the price of $1.25; copies bound in black half-morocco, uniform with the regular bindings of the *Review,* may be had for $1.75.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Changes of address, whether permanent or temporary, for the sending of this journal to members of the American Historical Association should be sent to the secretary of the Association, 1140 Woodward Building, and not to the publishers.

The Report of the Committee of Nine, together with the action taken thereon by the Association at the last annual meeting, has been sent out in print to all members of the Association.

The Winsor prize essay for 1914, Miss Williams's *Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy, 1815–1915,* has been published. The Adams prize essay for 1915, Dr. Pease's *The Leveller Movement,* will be published late in the autumn.

Members of the Association are reminded of the advantage which may accrue to its treasury from a large increase of subscriptions to the *History Teacher's Magazine,* quite apart from the individual advantage coming to them from the receipt of that excellent journal.

PERSONAL

Dr. James B. Angell, president of the University of Michigan from 1871 to 1909, died on April 1, at the age of eighty-seven. He was president of the American Historical Association from 1891 to 1893, presiding at the Chicago meeting in July, 1893, and delivering an address on the Inadequate Recognition of Diplomatists by Historians. His eminence in the field of education is universally known. He was United States minister to China from 1880 to 1881 and to Turkey from 1897 to 1898.

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His personal qualities were such that probably no man in the United States was regarded with so much affection by so many educated men.

Godefroid Kurth, professor of medieval history in the university of Liège and later director of the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome, died at Assche, Belgium, on January 4, 1916, aged sixty-eight years. He was the founder and editor of the *Archives Belges,* editor of volumes of documents, and member of the Belgian Royal Historical Commission and of the Belgian Royal Academy. His works included *Les Origines de la Civilisation Moderne* (1886), *La Frontière Linguistique en Belgique* (1896, 1898), *Histoire Poétique des Mérovingiens* (1893), *Clovis* (1896), and *La Cité de Liège au Moyen Age* (1909).

Maxime Kovalevsky, professor of public law in the University of Petrograd, died on April 5, 1916, aged sixty-five years. He was professor of public law in the University of Moscow from 1877 to 1887 when he was dismissed for political reasons and went to reside in western Europe, mainly in Paris, until the revolution of 1905–1906 made possible his acceptance of the chair in the University of Petrograd. His extensive researches in the history of institutions have borne fruit in volumes relating to the subject in nearly every country of Europe. Among his more important publications have been *Law and Custom in the Caucasus* (Russian, Moscow, 1890, 2 vols.); *Tableau des Origines et de l'Évolution de la Famille et de la Propriété* (French, Stockholm, 1890); *Modern Customs and Ancient Law in Russia* (London, 1891); *Origins of Contemporary Democracy* (Russian, Moscow, 1895 ff., 3 vols.); *Political Institutions of Russia* (Chicago, 1902); *Economic Development of Europe to the Beginning of Capitalism* (Russian, German translation, Berlin, 1901–1909, 4 vols.); and *La France Économique et Sociale à la Veille de la Révolution* (Paris, 1905–1909, 2 vols.).

Alfred Dove, professor emeritus of history in the University of Freiburg in Breisgau, died January 21, aged seventy-one years.

Professor William M. Sloane, Seth Low professor of history in Columbia University, retired from active service at the end of the academic year just concluded.

At Harvard University Dr. Charles H. McIlwain has been promoted to a professorship of history and government; Dr. Robert H. Lord to an assistant professorship of history. Dr. Edward E. Curtis has been appointed assistant professor of American history and government at Wellesley College; Dr. Clarence H. Haring of Bryn Mawr, assistant professor of history at Yale. Dr. Charles D. Hazen, formerly a professor in Smith College, has accepted an election as professor of European history in Columbia University. Mr. Seward P. Fox has been appointed assistant professor of history in New York University; Dr. Theodore H. Jack, now at Southern University, Greensborough, Alabama, profes-

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sor of history in Emory University, Atlanta. Dr. W. L. Schurz has been given the position of assistant professor of Spanish-American history and institutions in the University of Michigan; Mr. J. D. Hicks, that of assistant professor of history in Hamline University. Dr. Marcus W. Jernegan, of the University of Chicago, has been promoted to the rank of associate professor of history; Dr. Eugene H. Byrne, instructor in history in the University of Wisconsin, to that of assistant professor; Dr. Charles W. Ramsdell, of the University of Texas, to that of associate professor of American history; Dr. Frank B. Marsh, of the same university, to that of adjunct professor of ancient history; Dr. Robert J. Kerner to that of assistant professor of history in the University of Missouri.

Dr. Thomas M. Marshall, who during the present year has been teaching in Stanford University, has been appointed associate professor of history in the University of Idaho.

In the programmes of the summer sessions of the various universities, the following extramural appointments are to be noted: Professor Frank A. Golder, of the State College of Washington, will teach at Boston University; Professors Carl Becker of Kansas (hereafter of Minnesota), Edward B. Krehbiel of Stanford, R. V. D. Magoffin of Johns Hopkins, and R. W. Rogers of Drew Theological Seminary, at Columbia University; Professor Bernadotte Schmitt, at New York University; Dr. James Sullivan, at Cornell; Dr. Daniel E. Knowlton, at Rutgers College; Professor W. S. Myers of Princeton, at the Johns Hopkins University; Professors J. M. McConnell of Davidson College and Walter Huffington of Goldsborough, at the University of Virginia; Professors W. K. Boyd of Trinity (N. C.), Eugene Fair of Kirksville, F. M. Fling of Nebraska, and George Petrie of the Alabama Polytechnic Institution, at the George Peabody College in Nashville; Professor Thomas M. Marshall, now of the University of Idaho, at the University of Texas; Professor W. L. Westermann of Wisconsin, at the University of Michigan; Professor L. M. Larson of Illinois, at the University of Wisconsin; Professors F. M. Anderson of Dartmouth and W. T. Laprade of Trinity (N. C.), at the University of Illinois; Professor E. C. Barker of Texas, at the University of Minnesota; Professor Frank H. Hodder of Kansas, at the University of Colorado; Professors Isaac J. Cox of Cincinnati, R. R. Hill of New Mexico, and Morris Jastrow of Pennsylvania, at the University of California.

Professor W. S. Robertson of the University of Illinois will be absent on leave during the year 1916–1917, and expects to spend most of his time in South America.

GENERAL

At a meeting held in New York on May 13, convened by Professor R. M. McElroy of Princeton, persons representing graduate instruction

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in history and political science in various universities resolved upon an effort to establish in Washington a house of residence for graduate students coming from time to time from various universities to Washington for temporary use of the great resources which the national capital presents for work in the studies named and in allied fields. A committee was appointed to perfect plans and it is expected that a beginning may be made next winter, with possibilities of ultimate expansion into an institution of wider value to advanced historical and political instruction throughout the country.

The contents of the April number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* include the following papers: Present Tendencies in Teaching Freshman History, by Professor A. B. Show; Changing Conceptions in History, by Professor D. C. Munro; an extended discussion, by Professor H. W. Caldwell, of the subject "How Teach the History of the West in American History"; and Mutual Opinions of North and South, 1851–1854, Contemporary Documents, contributed by Professor A. H. Sanford. In the May number are found: Some Relations between Archaeology and History, by Professor Ida C. Thallon of Vassar College; Increasing the Functional Value of History by the Use of the Problem Method of Presentation, by W. P. Webb; and the European Background for the High School Course in American History, by Professor I. J. Cox. The June number contains the following articles: the History of the Far East, a Neglected Field, by Professor K. S. Latourette; the Purchase of Louisiana, by Professor F. H. Hodder; and the groups of papers presented in connection with the conferences at Berkeley in July, 1915, and at Washington in December, 1915, upon the Definition of the Field of Secondary School History. The papers read at the Berkeley meeting, here printed, are by Professor G. L. Burr, Crystal Harford, E. J. Berringer, and J. R. Sutton; those read at the Washington conference are by Professors H. D. Foster, H. E. Bourne, and E. M. Violette, Miss Margaret McGill, and Dr. James Sulivan.

Attention should be called to the *Subject Index to Periodicals* which the *Athenaeum* of London is issuing at the request of the Council of the Library Association of the United Kingdom. The plan embraces some 400 periodicals, mostly English. The entire volume for 1915, comprising about 10,000 entries, has already been published.

Four Lectures on the Handling of Historical Material, by Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, is soon to appear from the press of Messrs. Longmans.

Professor Edward B. Krehbiel of Leland Stanford University is about to publish, through the Macmillan Company, a volume entitled *Nationalism, War, and Society,* being a study of nationalism, and its concomitant, war, in their relation to civilization, and of the fundamentals and the progress of the opposition to war.

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Professors Albert Kocourek and John H. Wigmore of the Law School of Northwestern University have published, under the title *Evolution of Law: Select Readings on the Origin and Development of Legal Institutions* (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, two vols., pp. xii, 704, xvii, 702). Of these, the first contains (a) passages out of early writings, from the Iliad to Njals Saga, relating to ancient and primitive law and institutions; (b) chapters of modern observations of retarded peoples, from sociologists and travellers; (c) translations of ancient and primitive laws and codes and records of legal transactions. The second volume consists of extracts, sometimes whole chapters, on primitive and ancient institutions from the authoritative works of twenty modern scholars.

The thirty-sixth volume of the *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* contains in the "Romanistische Abteilung", in addition to 60 pages of letters from Savigny to Georg Arnold Heise, the following articles: E. Levy, "Zur Lehre von den sog. Actiones Arbitrariae"; E. Weiss, "Zwei Bittschriften aus Lydien", relating to agricultural workers in the first century; A. Berger, "Miszellen aus der Interdiktenlehre"; P. Jörs, "Erzrichter und Chrematisten, zum Mahn- und Vollstreckungsverfahren im Griechisch-Römischen Aegypten"; E. Rabel, "Δίκη ἐξούλης und Verwandtes"; and H. Fitting, "Eine Summa Institutionum des Irnerius". The contents of the "Kanonistische Abteilung" include: A. Werminghoff, "Die Deutschen Reichskriegssteuergesetze von 1422–1427 und die Deutsche Kirche: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Vorreformatorischen Deutschen Staatskirchenrechtes"; J. Dorn, "Der Ursprung der Pfarreien und die Anfänge des Pfarrwahlrechts in Mittelalterlichen Köln: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pfarrsystems in den Deutschen Bischofsstädten"; R. Schäfer, "Die Geltung des Kanonistischen Rechts in der Evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands von Luther bis zur Gegenwart"; and G. Schreiber, "Kirchliches Abgabenwesen an Französischen Eigenkirchen aus Anlass von Ordalien (Oblationes Campionum, Oblationes Pugilum, Oblationes Bellorum, Oblationes Judiciorum), zugleich ein Beitrag zur Gregorianisch-Kluniazensischen Reform und zur Geschichte und Liturgik der Traditionsnotizen". The articles in the "Germanistische Abteilung" are: A. Dopsch, "Westgotisches Recht im Capitulare de Villis"; W. von Brünneck, "Zur Geschichte der Gerichtsverfassung Elbings"; F. Matthäus, "Die Gesetzliche Verwandtenerbfolge des älteren Schwedischen Rechts"; A. Werminghoff, "Zum Fünften Kapitel der Goldenen Bulle von 1356"; H. von Voltelini, "Königsbannleihe und Blutbannleihe"; and M. Krammer, "Die Ursprüngliche Gestalt und Bedeutung der Titel De Filtorto und De Vestigio Minando des Salischen Gesetzes".

The April issue of the *Harvard Law Review*, a commemorative number in honor of the seventy-fifth birthday of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, among other worthy contributions contains "Cosmopolitan Cus-

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tom and International Law", by Sir Frederick Pollock, and "Montesquieu and Sociological Jurisprudence", by Professor Eugen Ehrlich of Czernowitz.

Recent issues in the series *Les Saints* are U. Beaufreton, *Sainte Claire d'Assise, 1194–1253* (Paris, Lecoffre, 1916, pp, 204); and Demimuid, *Saint Jean de la Croix, 1542–1591* (*ibid.*, pp. viii, 210).

A welcome addition to the history of science is Professor George A. Miller's *Historical Introduction to Mathematical Literature,* published by Messrs. Macmillan.

Professor Harold N. Fowler of Western Reserve University has prepared, and the Macmillan Company has published, *A History of Sculpture,* presenting a history of that art from its beginnings in Egypt and Babylonia to the present day, with many illustrations.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Viscount Bryce, *Religion as a Factor in the History of Empires* (Journal of Roman Studies, V. 1).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: G. Glotz, *Histoire Grecque, 1911–1914,* III. (Revue Historique, May).

The Egypt Exploration Fund has published the eleventh part of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1915), edited with translations and notes by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. The third number of K. Sethe's *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1916) contains historical and biographical materials from the reigns of Ptolemy Soter and Ptolemy Epiphanes. A. Stein has published *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Aegyptens unter Römischer Herrschaft* (Stuttgart, Metzler, 1915). The five parts hitherto issued of Dr. W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur Altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1915), promise a work rich in illustrative materials.

The Macmillan Company publishes *The Archaeology of the Holy Land,* by Mr. P. S. P. Handcock, formerly assistant in the department of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum. The author concerns himself little with the mere record of excavations but deals rather with questions of interpretation and with the reconstruction of ancient civilization in Palestine from the earliest recorded times.

Two important essays in Greek history have been published by Paul Cloché: *La Restauration Démocratique à Athènes en 403 av. J.-C.* and *Étude Chronologique sur la Troisième Guerre Sacrée, 356–346 av. J.-C.* (Paris, Leroux, 1916). There is also a recent volume of *Studî di Storia Macedonica sino a Filippo* (Pisa, tip. Toscana, 1915).

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Among the volumes of the *Loeb Classical Library* which it is intended to issue during 1916, the following are historical: volumes IV. and V. of Dio Cassius, volume IV. of Plutarch, Procopius, Strabo, and Xenophon.

La Violence en Droit Criminel Romain (Paris, Plon, 1915, pp. 361, reviewed by J. Toutain, *Revue Historique*, May) is a useful contribution to the history of Roman law by a young Rumanian scholar, J. Coroï.

Mr. E. S. Bouchier, in *Syria as a Roman Province* (Oxford, Blackwell, pp. 312), has studied with care both the political and the social history of the region.

F. Vollmer has collected from the *Corpus* and its supplements, and from newer sources, the *Inscriptiones Bavariae Romanae sive Inscriptiones Provinciae Raetiae, adiectis aliquot Noricis Italicisque* (Munich, Franz, 1915, pp. vii, 253).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Schwenzner, *Zum Altbabylonischen Wirtschaftsleben, Studien über Wirtschaftsbetrieb, Preise, Darlehen, und Agrarverhältnisse* (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, XIX. 3); A. Brinkmann, *Die Olympische Chronik* (Rheinisches Museum, LXX. 4); F. Hornstein, *Komposition und Herausgabe der Xenophontischen Memorabilien* (Wiener Studien, XXXVI., XXXVII. 1); L. Homo, *Flamininus et la Politique Romaine en Grèce, 198–194 av. J.-C.* (Revue Historique, March, May); M. L. Strack, *Kleopatra* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXV. 3); W. Otto, *Die Nobilität der Kaiserzeit* (Hermes, LI. 1); K. Bihlmeyer, *Die "Syrischen" Kaiser: Karakalla, Elagabal, Severus Alexander, und das Christentum*, IV., concl. (Theologische Quartalschrift, XCVII. 3); Ida C. Thallon, *The Roman Fort at Ambleside* (Art and Archaeology, April).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

General review: H. Windisch, *Leben und Lehre Jesu* (Theologische Rundschau, XIX. 1).

The new life of *Jesus* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1916), by Professor Paul Wernle of Basel, combines scholarship with a readable style.

Professor A. von Harnack has issued a third, revised and enlarged edition of *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1915).

Monsignor U. Benigni has issued the second part of the second volume of his *Storia Sociale della Chiesa* (Milan, Vallardi, 1915, pp. vii, 413), which concludes the narrative to the close of the western empire.

Father Mesnage, who is already known for his writings on Roman Africa, has published *Le Christianisme en Afrique* (Paris, 1915). The

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first volume deals with the origin, development, and extension of the Church in Africa; the second, with the decline and extinction; and the third, with the Church in the Mohammedan times.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Beth, *Gibt es Buddhistische Einflüsse in den Kanonischen Evangelien?* (Theologische Studien und Kritiken, March); A. von Harnack, *Die Ausgabe der Griechischen Kirchenväter der drei ersten Jahrhunderte: Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Kommission, 1891–1915* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie, 1916, VI.); E. Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela: ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des ältesten Christentums im Orient* (Abhandlungen der K. Preussischen Akademie, 1915, VI., pp. 94); P. Corssen, *Das Martyrium des Bischofs Cyprian,* III., IV. (Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XVI. 1, 3).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

After dealing in his first two volumes with the period of antiquity, Pierre Duhem has discussed the medieval period in the third volume of his *Le Système du Monde, Histoire des Doctrines Cosmologiques de Platon à Copernic* (Paris, Hermann, 1915, pp. 539, reviewed by A. Fliche, *Revue Historique,* May). The extensive researches of the author have enabled him to present a wealth of new and valuable data.

Sir Thomas Graham Jackson has in *Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture* (Cambridge University Press) given an account of the spread of post-Roman architecture throughout Europe from the fourth to the twelfth century. The text is illuminated by 165 plates and 148 other illustrations.

Three small collections of canons, antedating Gratian, are edited by P. Fournier in *Un Groupe de Recueils Canoniques Italiens des X^e^ et XI^e^ Siècles* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1915, pp. 123), published in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (vol. XL.).

H. Schrörs, in his *Untersuchungen zu dem Streite Kaiser Friedrichs I. mit Papst Hadrian IV., 1157–1158* (Berlin, Springer, 1916), deals with the relations between Barbarossa and the only English pope.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Kern, *Ueber die Mittelalterliche Anschauung vom Recht* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXV. 3); R. Eberstadt, *Das Aufsteigen des Handwerkerstandes im Mittelalter* (Schmollers Jahrbuch, XXXIX. 4); J. B. Sägmüller, *Die Papstwahl durch das Kardinalkolleg als Prototyp der Bischofswahl durch das Domkapitel* (Theologische Quartalschrift, XCVII. 3); A. Mathis, *Il Pontefice Benedetto IX., Appunti Critici di Storia Medioevale* (Civiltà Cattolica, December 4, February 5, March 4); G. Schütte, *Die Quellen der Ptolemäischen Karten von Nordeuropa* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur, XLI. 1).

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

P. F. Alexander has reprinted original narratives of the voyages of Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Barents in *The North-west and North-east Passages, 1576–1611* (Cambridge, University Press, 1915, pp. xix, 211).

The Macmillan Company will publish during the summer a volume on *Economic and Social Europe, 1750–1915*, by Professor Frederic A. Ogg of the University of Wisconsin.

E. Pacheco y de Leyva has published, under the auspices of the Spanish school in Rome, *El Conclave de 1774 a 1775, Acción de las Cortes Católicas en la Supresión de la Compañia de Jesús, según Documentos Españoles* (Madrid, Imp. Clásica, 1915, pp. ccxxvii, 577).

The *Histoire Politique et Sociale, Évolution du Monde Moderne, 1815–1915*, by Driault and Monod, has been brought down to date in a sixth edition (Paris, Alcan, 1916).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Gentile, *Il Concetto dell' Uomo nel Rinascimento* (Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, LXVII. 1); G. Monod, *La Réforme Catholique au XIV^e Siècle* (Revue Historique, March); J. Mathorez, *La Pénétration des Allemands en France sous l'Ancien Régime* (Revue des Études Historiques, January); Politicus, *The Teachings of the Napoleonic War* (Fortnightly Review, 1916); J. Kühn, *Bismarck und der Bonapartismus im Winter 1870–1871* (Preussische Jahrbücher, January); D. C. Gilman, *Letters from Russia during the Crimean War* (Yale Review, April); G. T. Warner, *Two Great Blockades: their Aims and Effects* (Blackwood's Magazine, April).

THE GREAT WAR

M. Grolig, a Vienna librarian, has started the publication of an *Archiv für Geschichte und Literatur des Weltkrieges*, which will appear bi-monthly.

Publications to the end of 1915 are listed in *Catalogue: Publications sur la Guerre, 1914–1915* (Paris, Cercle de la Librairie, 1916). The *Revue Historique* has steadily rendered commendable service by brief but prompt reviews of the more important items of war literature of historical value appearing in French, and also to a less extent in other languages. The initials of Professors Bémont and Pfister are a guarantee of the character of most of these brief notices.

The *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* continues to devote its successive numbers to articles on special topics relating to the war, as indicated by the titles of the respective numbers: *Kriegsziele* (December), *Skandinavien* (January), *Ostjuden* (February), and *Kriegsgefangene* (March).

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Documents to February 15, 1916, appear in the ninth volume of *Guerre de 1914: Documents Officiels, Textes Législatifs et Réglementaires* (Paris, Dalloz, 1916); and to August 31, 1915, in the second volume of *Législation de la Guerre de 1914–1915: Lois, Décrets, Arrêtés Ministériels, et Circulaires Ministérielles* (Paris, Tenin, 1915). Ardouin-Dumazet contributes a modicum of text to *La Guerre: Documents de la Section Photographique de l'Armée* (*Ministère de la Guerre*) which appears in bi-weekly parts of 24 plates each, published by Colin of Paris.

Additional documentary materials are collected in P. Fauchille, *La Guerre de 1914: Recueil de Documents intéressant le Droit International* (Paris, Pedone, 1916), of which the first volume contains 379 documents relating to both belligerents and neutrals; in C. Junker, *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Europäischen Krieges, 1914–1915, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Oesterreich-Ungarn und Deutschland* (Vienna, Perels, 1915, pp. viii, 304) of which the first volume relates to July, 1914; and in E. Buchner, *Kriegsdokumente: der Weltkrieg 1914 in der Darstellung der Zeitgenössischen Presse* (Munich, Langen, 1915), of which two parts have appeared.

The historian Guglielmo Ferrero has written *La Guerre Européenne* (Paris, Payot, 1916), dealing with the causes and motives. S. Pérez Triana, of Argentina, has presented some interesting observations in *Some Aspects of the War* (London, Unwin, 1915, pp. 225). From the German side the problems are further discussed by Paul Rohrbach in *Zum Weltvolk hindurch!* (Stuttgart, Engelhorn, 1915, pp. 103), containing articles written on the eve of the war; Hugo Preuss, *Das Deutsche Volk und die Politik* (Jena, Diederichs, 1915, pp. 199); Heinrich Gomperz, *Philosophie des Krieges in Umrissen* (Gotha, Perthes, 1915, pp. xvi, 252). From the pens of well-known Frenchmen come E. Hovelaque, *Les Causes Profondes de la Guerre: Allemagne-Angleterre* (Paris, Alcan, 1915, pp. viii, 120); J. Finot, *Civilisés contre Allemands, la Grande Croisade* (Paris, Flammarion, 1915); Ernest Leroux, *France et Allemagne, les Deux Cultures* (Paris, Leroux, 1915, pp. 47); and G. Blondel, *L'Épuisement de l'Allemagne et le Devoir Actuel de la France* (Paris, Tenin, 1915).

How Europe Armed for War, by J. T. Walton Newbold (London, Blackfriars Press, pp. 108) is a history of the armament of European powers.

A solid contribution to the European history preceding the late war is *Nationalism and War in the Near East,* by "a Diplomatist", edited by Lord Courtney of Penwith and published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In addition to the narrative the volume contains many comments embodying the author's speculations as to the future and theories as to the effects of race and religion in the past.

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The number of accounts of the early months of the war continues to increase. Among the more worthy ones belonging to this class are *In the Field,* by Marcel Dupont (Heinemann), and *The First Seven Divisions,* by Lord Ernest William Hamilton (Hurst and Blackett).

German memoirs and accounts of campaigns include O. Kerler, *Sieben Monate in den Vogesen, in Flandern, und in der Champagne* (Munich, Beck, 1916, pp. 139), composed of letters written up to his death in March, 1915; *Mit unseren Mörsern gegen West und Ost, aus dem Kriegstagebuch eines Bataillonskommandeurs* (Berlin, Mittler, 1916, pp. iv, 116); W. Feldmann, *Mit der Heeresgruppe des Prinzen Leopold von Bayern nach Weissrussland hinein, Kriegsberichte* (Munich, Beck, 1916, pp. 119); H. Schulz, *Zwischen Weichsel und Dniester* (Munich, Müller, 1915, pp. viii, 318), which is the first volume of *Der Oesterreichisch-Ungarische Krieg in Feldpostbriefen*; and R. Sommer, *Die Schwarze Garde, Kriegserlebnisse eines Freiwilligen Automobilisten in Russland, 1914–1915* (Berlin, Mittler, 1916, pp. 178). A. Fraccaroli, *La Presa di Leopoli* [*Lemberg*] *e la Guerra Austro-Russa in Galizia* (Milan, Treves, 1915, pp. 292) may also be mentioned.

Consideration of the colonial problems related to the present war is the object of V. Valentin, *Kolonialgeschichte der Neuzeit* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1915); Carl Peters, *Afrikanische Köpfe: Charakterskizzen aus der Neueren Geschichte Afrikas* (Berlin, Ullstein, 1915, pp. 268); and H. Hauser, *Le Problème Colonial* (Paris, Chapelot, 1915). Some chapters of the colonial phases of the war are recorded in Moore Ritchie, *With Botha in the Field* (London, Longmans, 1915, pp. xii, 68), and in *Der Heldenkampf unserer Kolonien, nach den Amtlichen Mitteilungen des Reichs-Kolonial-Amts zusammengestellt* (Berlin, Boll and Pickardt, 1915), of which two parts have been published.

French reminiscences of war experiences, of varied sorts as the titles indicate, are appearing: C. Prieur, *De Dixmude à Nieuport: Journal de Campagne d'un Officier de Fusiliers Marins, Octobre 1914–Mai 1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1916); P. Lintier, *Avec une Batterie de 75, ma Pièce, Souvenirs d'un Cannonier, 1914* (Paris, Plon, 1916); *Lettres de Prêtres aux Armées* (Paris, Payot, 1916) compiled by V. Bucaille; J. Variot, *La Croix des Carmes: Documents sur les Combattants du Bois le Prêtre* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916); Mgr. Tissier, bishop of Chalons, *La Guerre en Champagne au Diocèse de Chalons, Septembre 1914–Septembre 1915* (Paris, Téqui, 1916, pp. 498), containing records supplied by his clergy; L. Wastelier du Parc, *Souvenirs d'un Réfugié: Douai, Lille, Paris, Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1914–1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1916); J. Breton, *À l'Arrière: Souvenirs d'un Non-Combattant* (Paris, Delagrave, 1916); L. Blanchin, *Chez Eux: Souvenirs de Guerre et de Captivité* (*ibid.*).

Comte de Caix de Saint-Aymour has written a thorough account of *La Marche sur Paris de l'Aile Droite Allemande, 26 Août–4 Septembre*

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1914 (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1916); and the Belgian minister Comte F. de Jehay has published an account of *L'Invasion du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg en Août 1914* (Paris, Perrin, 1916).

G. Crouvezier had to meet promptly the demand for a second and enlarged edition of *L'Aviation pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916).

The antecedents of the Italian participation in the war are discussed in G. A. Borgese, *Italia e Germania* (Milan, Treves, 1915, pp. xliv, 343); G. Bruccoleri, *Da Conflitto Europeo alla Nostra Guerra, Diario di un Giornalista, Agosto 1914–Giugno 1915* (Rome, tip. ed. Italia, 1915, pp. 268); I. Reggio, *Storia della Grande Guerra d'Italia* (Milan, Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1915, vols. I.–IV.); and J. Baisini, *Il Trentino dinanzi all' Europa* (Milan, Antonini, 1915, pp. xxviii, 431).

In *L'Opinion Italienne et l'Intervention de l'Italie dans la Guerre Actuelle* (Paris, Champion, 1916, pp. 105) Professor Gabriel Maugain of the University of Grenoble has endeavored to make a dispassionate historical study of the subject. He has used freely the newspapers and periodicals of Italy, France, and Germany, as well as other sources. After a few introductory pages he presents systematically the several arguments and motives of the *neutralisti,* and then enumerates the several classes of the population who were of that mind and the considerations affecting their respective attitudes. In turn similar methods are followed in studying the *interventisti* and their motives. The concluding chapter deals with the Salandra ministry and its handling of the crisis. Though perhaps neither complete nor conclusive, the volume is in both method and results one of more than momentary or partizan value.

Henri Hauvette, professor of Italian literature at the Sorbonne, has written the preface to a volume, *L'Italie et la Guerre d'après les Témoignages de ses Hommes d'État* (Paris, Colin, 1916, pp. xii, 144), composed of translations of six addresses delivered between June 2, 1915, and February 20, 1916, by Premier Salandra and his colleagues Sonnino, Barzilaï, and Orlando, and by the ambassador to France, Signor Tittoni. These addresses furnish a substantially official explanation of Italy's reasons for entering the war on the side of the allies, and of the problems which Italy faces in the conduct of the war.

Another account of the Turkish phase of the war is contained in *Les Compagnons de l'Aventure: Dardanelles, Égée, Salonique, Méditerranée* (Paris, Attinger, 1916) by André Tudesq.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Hoschiller, *L'Union de l'Europe Centrale* (Revue de Paris, March 15, April 15); Otto, Graf Moltke, *Ueber die im Kriege wirksamen Kräfte* (Preussische Jahrbücher, February); G. Blanchon, *La Guerre qui se transforme sous nos Yeux* (Revue

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des Deux Mondes, April 15); General Malleterre, *Les Opérations de la Guerre en 1914*, II., *De Charleroi à la Marne* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, February 15); M. Genevoix, *Les Jours de la Marne* (Revue de Paris, April 15); J. Songy, *De Champagne en Artois, Journal de Marche* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 1); A. Augustin-Thierry, *Onze Mois de Captivité en Allemagne, Souvenirs d'un Ambulancier* (*ibid.*, February 15, March 1); M. Markovitch, *Tableaux du Front Russe de Galicie, Décembre, 1915* (*ibid.*, March 1); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Deux Mois en Russie et dans les Pays Scandinaves* (Revue Hebdomadaire, April 1); B. Pares, *Au Jour le Jour avec l'Armée Russe* (Revue de Paris, March 15); Jeanne Antelme, *Avec l'Armée d'Orient: Notes d'une Infirmière à Moudros* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15); H. G. Dwight, *The Campaign in Western Asia* (Yale Review, April); Contre-Amiral Degouy, *L'Efficacité du Canal de Kiel* (Revue de Paris, February 1); *ibid.*, *Le Nouveau Blocus* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15); P. Cloarec, *La Guerre sur Mer* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, February 15); R. La Bruyère, *La Part de la Marine Marchande dans l'Oeuvre de Défense Nationale* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 15).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The Historical Association has adopted as its organ the journal called *History*, has given it a new character, and with the number for April, 1916, has begun a "new series", under the editorship of Professor A. F. Pollard. In the contents of the new journal the teaching of history takes the foremost place. There are brief articles by Sir Charles Lucas on the teaching of imperial history, by Mr. Julian Corbett and Mr. H. W. Hodges on the teaching of naval history, and a controversial article on History and Science by Professor Pollard. There are reviews of books, notes, and news. The contents are of high quality and of practical value. Macmillan and Company are the publishers.

A series of articles contributed to *Social England* by Professors Maitland and Montague has been gathered together by Professor James F. Colby and published by Messrs. Putnam under the title *A Sketch of English Legal History*. The eight articles included give, in non-technical terms, views of the legal situation in England at eight periods in her history.

The Royal Historical Society has in preparation a fourth volume of the *Nicholas Papers*, and the *Estate Book of Henry of Bray, Harlestone, Northants, 1289–1340*.

Beatrice Adelaide Lee's *Alfred the Great, the Truth Teller: Maker of England, 848–899* (Putnam, pp. xv, 493) is a readable volume executed with much care.

The Chronicles of Thomas Sprott, a Benedictine chronicler of Canter-

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bury in the later thirteenth century, by Walter Sage, constitutes the April number of the *Bulletin* of the departments of history and political science in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.

John Wycliffe, John Wesley, and John Henry Newman form the subject of the studies by Dr. S. Parkes Cadman entitled *Three Religious Leaders of Oxford and their Movements* (Macmillan). Another religious leader is studied by Dr. Ezra S. Tipple in *Francis Asbury: the Prophet of the Long Road,* published by the Methodist Book Concern.

The Record Society of St. Patrick's College at Maynooth has published (Dublin, M. H. Gill, pp. 290) *The Flight of the Earls* (of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, in 1607), edited by Rev. Paul Walsh from the manuscript of the author, Tadlig O Cianáin, an eye-witness.

Professor P. Hume Brown has ably edited as vol. XI. of the second series of the Scottish History Society *Letters relating to Scotland in the Reign of Queen Anne,* by James Ogilvy, first earl of Seafield, and others. The majority of the letters were written by Lord Seafield, while chancellor of Scotland, to Godolphin, between the years 1702 and 1707.

Volumes III. and IV. of *Historical Portraits* (Oxford University Press) extend from George I. to Sir Ralph Abercromby, 1700–1800, and from Horatio Nelson to John Murray, 1800 to 1840. As in the earlier volumes there is an introduction by C. F. Bell.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission has published vol. IX. of the *Report on the Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue,* covering the years 1807 to 1809.

The *Widowhood of Queen Victoria* by Clare Jerrold (Nash) continues that author's popular account of the life of the queen, earlier volumes of which were *The Early Court of Queen Victoria* and *The Married Life of Queen Victoria.*

Volume IV. of Mr. G. E. Buckle's (Monypenny's) *Life of Disraeli,* extending to the year 1868, when he became prime minister, has recently appeared.

The Anarchy before the Outbreak is the title of the first volume of *A History of Britain during the Great War: a Study of a Democracy at War* (London, the Ridd Massom Company, 1915, pp. viii, 280). C. Castre has described *L'Angleterre et la Guerre* (Paris, Didier, 1915); A. Hettner has discussed *Englands Weltherrschaft und der Krieg* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1915, pp. v, 269), and several writers have contributed to *Das Englische Gesicht, England in Kultur, Wirtschaft, und Geschichte* (Berlin, Ullstein, 1915, pp. 251).

Volume V. of the *Historical Records of Australia,* Governor's Dispatches to and from England, extends from July, 1804, to August, 1806 (Sydney, Parliament, 1915, pp. 925).

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British government publications: *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial,* 1704–1705, ed. Cecil Headlam.

Other documentary publications: *Walsall Records,* 1248–1364 (British Museum); *Year-Books of Edward II.,* vol. XI., 5 Edward II., 1311–1312, ed. W. C. Ballard (Selden Society); *Public Works, in Mediaeval Law,* vol. I. (Selden Society); *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters,* III., *Court Book,* 1533–1573, ed. Bower Marsh (the Company).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Brandl, *Zur Geographie der Altenglischen Dialekte* (Abhandlungen der K. Preussischen Akademie, 1915, IV., pp. 77); G. B. Adams, *The Origin of English Equity* (Columbia Law Review, February); A. W. Johnston, *Scottish Influence on Orkney* (Scottish Historical Review, April); Theodora Keith, *Municipal Elections in the Royal Burghs of Scotland,* II., *From the Union to the Passing of the Scottish Burgh Reform Bill in 1833* (Scottish Historical Review, April).

FRANCE

General reviews: L. Halphen, *Histoire de France, Époque Franque et des Capétiens Directs* (Revue Historique, March); H. Froidevaux, *Histoire Coloniale de la France depuis l'Époque de Napoléon I.* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May).

M. Clerc has compiled an elaborate volume on *Aquae Sextiae, Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence dans l'Antiquité* (Aix, Dragon, 1916, pp. vii, 576).

Recent contributions to French ecclesiastical biography are Scheler, *Sitten und Bildung der Französischen Geistlichkeit nach den Briefen Stephans von Tournai* (Berlin, Ebering, 1915), and H. Le Floch, *Claude François Poullart des Places, Fondateur du Séminaire et de la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit, 1679–1709* (new ed., Paris, Lethielleux, 1915, pp. xvi, 670). The Religieuses de Sainte-Marie de Fontevrault de Boulaur, now located at Vera in Navarre, are publishing a *Histoire de l'Ordre de Fontevrault, 1100–1908,* of which the third volume (Auch, Cocharaux, 1915, pp. xii, 360) is devoted to the three priories of Boulaur, Chemillé, and Brioude.

A. Dussert has published his thesis on *Les États de Dauphiné aux XIV^e^ et XV^e^ Siècles* (Grenoble, Allier, 1915, pp. xix, 371).

The French Renascence, by Dr. Charles Sarolea, is a series of sketches of French personalities, both literary and historical.

The second volume of H. Bremond, *Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment Religieux en France* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1916), deals with *L'Invasion Mystique, 1590–1620.*

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The opening phase of the present war suggested to M. Poëte a similar episode in the Thirty Years' War, which he has recounted in *Une Première Manifestation d'Union Sacrée, Paris devant la Menace Étrangère en 1636* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. viii, 355).

E. Oberbohren has contributed to the history of economic theory in France *Die Idee der Universalökonomie in der Französischen Wirtschaftswissenschaftlichen Literatur bis auf Turgot* (Jena, Fischer, 1915).

In Mr. Hilaire Belloc's *Last Days of the French Monarchy* (Chapman and Hall) is a vivid account of four episodes in the history of Louis XVI.'s last days.

Apparently Revolutionary personages are becoming favorite subjects for women biographers. The latest evidence is Käthe Hilt's thesis on *Camille Desmoulins: seine Politische Gesinnung und Parteistellung* (Berlin, Ebering, 1916).

Professor Albert Mathiez of the University of Besançon combines with thorough scholarship an intense belief in the Revolution. Both characteristics mark *La Victoire en l'An II.: Esquisses Historiques sur la Défense Nationale* (Paris, Alcan, 1916, pp. 286). The volume breathes a fervent nationalism and its vigorous and impassioned style declares its immediate patriotic intent. The presentation of facts reveals the scholar's wealth of information and keen insight into the forces of the great movement of national defense. The volume makes easily accessible for the first time a description of the military system of 1793. The royal army, the national guard, the volunteers, the levy of the 300,000, and finally the equitable democratic measure of the *levée en masse* are described. Then follow admirable accounts of Dubois-Crancé's famous amalgam and of the equipment and supply of the army. The political side is studied in chapters on the relations to the army of the Convention, of the Committee of Public Safety, and of the deputies on mission to the armies, and especially on the work of Carnot and on the spirit of the army. The author insists that the victory was popular and democratic in origin and achievement and not due to tyrannical authority exercised by the Great Committee. "La démocratie révolutionnaire", he concludes, "triompha du vieux monde parce qu'elle en était la négation".

The Third French Republic, by C. H. C. Wright, is published by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

Twenty collaborators have produced a survey of *Un Demi-Siècle de Civilisation Française, 1870–1915* (Paris, Hachette, 1916), which will supplement Rambaud's well-known volumes, besides meeting a present popular demand.

A history of *L'État de Siège en France* (Paris, Jouve, 1915, pp. 137) is a Paris law thesis by J. Plémeur.

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Magali-Boismard has described an unusual phase of the colonial portion of the present war in *L'Alerte au Désert: la Vie Saharienne pendant la Guerre, 1914–1916* (Paris, Perrin, 1916).

The present French phase of the problem of the conduct of war by a democracy is discussed in *Notre Parlementarisme et la Défense Nationale en 1914* (Paris, Figuière, 1914, pp. 360), by Lieutenant-Colonel Debon.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. Krusch, *Die Neueste Wendung im Genovefa-Streit*, II. (Neues Archiv, XL. 2); E. Müller, *Beiträge zu Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen* (*ibid.*, XL. 2); G. Jean-Aubry, *Un Précurseur de l'Entente Cordiale, Saint-Évremond, 1616–1703* (Revue de Paris, April 15); C. Perroud, *La Société Française des Amis des Noirs* (La Révolution Française, March); G. Rouanet, *Danton et la Mort de Louis XVI. d'après Théodore Lameth* (Annales Révolutionnaires, January); A. Mathiez, *Les Arrêtés de Robespierre Jeune dans sa Mission de Franche-Comté* (*ibid.*); P. Gaffarel, *Second Proconsulat de Fréron à Marseille, 31 Octobre 1795–22 Mars 1796*, I. (La Révolution Française, March); P. Sagnac, *L'Organisation Française et la Réunion des Pays Rhénans, 1797–1802* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, March); A. Blanqui, *Souvenirs d'un Lycéen de 1814*, I. (Revue de Paris, April 15); F. Masson, *La Proscription des Napoléonides, Joseph aux États-Unis, 1815–1821* (*ibid.*, March 15); H. Duval, *Documents pour servir à l'Histoire des Sociétés Populaires, 1830–1848* (La Révolution de 1848, January); A. Schaffer, *Louis Adolphe Thiers* (Sewanee Review, April); G. K. Anton, *Frankreichs Koloniale Entwicklung unter der Dritten Republik* (Internationale Monatsschrift, June 1, 1915).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: C. Rinaudo, *Risorgimento Italiano* (Rivista Storica Italiana, April).

In the Heeren-Ukert-Lamprecht series, Dr. L. M. Hartmann has brought out the volume for the period of the Ottos in his *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter* (Gotha, Perthes, 1915).

E. Pandiani, *Vita Privata Genovese nel Rinascimento* (Genoa, Sambolino, 1915, pp. 411); A. De Pellegrini, *Genti d'Arme della Repubblica di Venezia, i Condottieri Porcia e Brugnero, 1495–1797* (Udine, Del Bianco, 1915, pp. 320), and P. Molmenti, *Sebastiano Veniero dopo la Battaglia di Lepanto* (Venice, Ferrari, 1915, pp. 157) are recent studies in the history of Venice and Genoa since the Renaissance.

F. Malaguzzi-Valeri, who gave a general account of *La Corte di Lodovico il Moro* in his first volume, has in the second volume (Milan, Hoepli, 1915, pp. 646) given his attention entirely to the history of art. The extended study of the careers of Bramante and Leonardo da Vinci is supplemented by about 700 illustrations.

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L. Rava has given an account of *Il Primo Parlamento Elettivo in Italia, il Parlamento della Repubblica Cispadana a Bologna, Aprile-Maggio 1797* (Bologna, Gamberini, 1915, pp. 68); and has told the sequel in *Le Prime Persecuzioni Austriache in Italia, i Deportati Politici Cisalpini del Dipartimento del Rubicone ai Lavori Forzati in Ungheria e alla Tombe di Sebenico, 1799–1800* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1915, pp. 176). Similar to the latter is *I Martiri e i perseguitati Politici di Terra di Bari nel 1799* (Bari, Pansini, 1915, pp. viii, 585), by G. De Ninno.

The publication of *Il "Libro d'Oro" della Repubblica di San Marino* (Foligno, Campitelli) is announced for the near future. The work has been compiled chiefly by Professors O. Fattori and P. Franciosi and by the Marquis De Liveri di Valdausa. The volume will contain a general historical sketch, accounts of the several departments of government, lists of holders of important offices, sketches of prominent personages, etc.

Another history of *La Compagnia di Gesù in Sicilia, 1814–1914* (Palermo, Boccone, 1915, 2 vols., pp. xviii, 300; 304) while anonymous is apparently the work of a member of the order. A. Giangrande, in *Papa e Santa Sede nella Storia, nel Diritto, e nella Legge delle Guarentigie* (Rome, tip. ed. Romana, 1916, pp. 100), considers a question which is now much under discussion in Italy. C. Belleaigue has published a volume of notes and souvenirs on *Pie X. et Rome, 1903–1914* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1916). Father Antonio de Barcelona is the author of *El Cardenal Vives y Tuto, de la Orden de Frailes Menores Capuchinos* (Barcelona, Gili, 1916, pp. xvi, 515).

E. Fabbri, *Sei Anni e Due Mesi della mia Vita, Memorie e Documenti Inediti* (Rome, Bontempelli, 1915, pp. xii, 544), is edited by N. Trovanelli. A volume of the *Discorsi Parlamentari* of Giovanni Bovio (Rome, tip. della Camera dei Deputati, 1915, pp. 524) has been published.

General Burguete has investigated the first phase of the Christian reconquest of Spain in *Rectificaciones Históricas, de Guadelupe á Covadonga, y Primer Siglo de la Reconquista de Asturias, Ensayo de un Nuevo Método de Investigación e Instrumento de Comprobaciones para el Estudio de la Historia* (Madrid, Imp. Helénica, 1915, pp. 321).

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Aragon seemed about to become a great Mediterranean power. One of the persons who extended Aragonese activities into Greece and the Levant was the prince whose career is recounted in *Contribució a la Biografía de l'Infant Ferràn de Mallorca* (Barcelona, Massó, 1915, pp. 102), by A. Rubió i Lluch, as a portion of volume VIII. of *Estudis Universitaris Catalans.*

H. E. Rohde has edited the posthumous work of Klüpfel on the *Verwaltungsgeschichte des Königreichs Aragon zu Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1915).

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The first volume of *Contribució a la Historia dels Antics Gremis del Arts y Oficis de la Ciutat de Barcelona* (Barcelona, Babra, 1915, pp. xxxii, 454), edited by M. González y Sugranés, deals with *Agullers, Apotecaris, Argenters.*

G. Maura y Gamazo has published the second volume of his *Carlos II. y su Corte* (Madrid, tip. de Archivos, 1915, pp. 659), which relates to the years 1669–1670.

The *Boletín* of the Centro de Estudios Americanistas at Seville, núm. 16, 17, 18, contains the beginnings of a series of articles by Señor Ramón de Manjarrés on the Spanish explorations of the Pacific in the eighteenth century, the first two concerning the discoveries of Easter Island, the third the voyages to Tahiti in 1772 and 1774, the latter described from the journal of the pilot Pantoja, preserved in the library of the University of Seville. Early Central American and West Indian maps are treated in continued articles by Professor Germán Latorre.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Fournier, *Bonizo de Sutri, Urbain II. et la Comtesse Mathilde d'après le Liber de Vita Christiana de Bonizo* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, May, 1915); L. Chiama, *La Fuga di G. Garibaldi da Genova nel 1834, da un Giornale di Viaggio Inedito* (Nuova Antologia, March 16); I. Raulich, *Come d'Azeglio rifiutò la Missione al Congresso di Parigi* (*ibid.*, February 16); P. S. Leicht, *I Confini della Venezia nella Storia del Diritto Italiano* (*ibid.*, February 16); M. Rouff, *La Politique Intérieure de l'Italie et la Guerre* (Mercure de France, April 1); A. Jeanroy, *Les Troubadours en Espagne* (Annales du Midi, July, 1915); J. Klein, *The Alcalde Entregador of the Mesta* (Bulletin Hispanique, April, 1915); A. Morel-Fatio, *Le Révolutionnaire Espagnol Don Andrés Maria de Guzman, dit Don Tocsinos* (Revue Historique, May–June); F. Rousseau, *Les Sociétés Secrètes et la Révolution Espagnole en 1820* (Revue des Études Historiques, January).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Fränkische Studien, Kleine Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage des Deutschen Altertums (Berlin, Ebering, 1915) embodies the results of various researches by Halbedel.

Among recent convenient handbooks of documents are *Die Römischen Krönungseide der Deutschen Kaiser* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1915, pp. ii, 51), edited by H. Günter; and the following numbers of *Voigtländers Quellenbücher* (Leipzig, Voigtländer): H. Preuss, *Lutherbildnissen*; J. Kühn, *Luther und der Wormser Reichstag, 1521*; O. Clemen's edition of Myconius's *Reformationsgeschichte*; and E. Gagliardi, *Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft bis 1516.*

In the economic history of Germany during the Middle Ages, recent

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publications include W. Schmidt-Rimpler, *Geschichte des Kommissionsgeschäftes in Deutschland* (Halle, Waisenhaus, 1915, pp. xvi, 318), of which the first volume deals with the period before 1500; the *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des Mansfeldischen Saigerhandels im 16. Jahrhundert* (Halle, Hendel, 1915), edited by W. Möllenberg; and K. Jagow, *Die Heringsfischerei an den Deutschen Ostseeküsten im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1915), an offprint from the *Archiv für Fischereigeschichte.*

For the history of German monastic orders there have appeared Paul Boehme's edition of the *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Pforte* (Halle, Hendel, 1915, vol. II., no. 2, 1501–1513); Dersch's *Hessisches Klosterbuch* (Marburg, Elwert, 1915); L. Schmitz-Kallenberg's *Monumenta Budicensia: Quellen zur Geschichte des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Böddeken i. W.* (Münster, Borgmeyer, 1915); Vonschott's *Geistiges Leben im Augustinerorden am Ende des Mittelalters und zu Beginn der Neuzeit* (Berlin, Ebering, 1915); and Schmitz's *Der Zustand der Süddeutschen Franziskaner-Konventualen am Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Düsseldorf, Schwann, 1915).

Volume V. of Dr. Hartmann Grisar's *Luther,* translated by E. M. Lamond and edited by Luigi Cappadelta, has appeared from the press of Messrs. Kegan Paul.

Professor Otto Scheel of Tübingen deals with the school and university period in the life of Luther in the first volume of his *Martin Luther, vom Katholizismus zur Reformation* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1916).

Professor Friedrich Meinecke has revised and enlarged his *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat, Studien zur Genesis des Deutschen Nationalstaates* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1915, pp. x, 528) in a third edition. Professor C. Andler of the Sorbonne has compiled a third volume of materials illustrative of Pan-Germanism, *Le Pangermanisme Colonial sous Guillaume II.* (Paris, Conard, 1916). Professor Arthur Chuquet has collected a characteristic group of his essays in *1914–1915, de Frédéric II. à Guillaume II.* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1915, pp. 375). One of the most significant statements of German problems and German aims is Friedrich Naumann's *Mitteleuropa* (Berlin, Reimer, 1915, pp. viii, 299).

The thesis of Victor Bérard, the author of several well-known volumes on contemporary politics national and international during the past twenty years, in his latest volume, *L'Éternelle Allemagne* (Paris, Colin, 1916, pp. 345) is the continuity of German history from the forest age of Hermann and Marbod through the Carolingians, the Ottos, and the Hohenstaufen, to the present Hohenzollerns; from the Holy Roman Empire to the present German Empire; that the present kaiser is the counterpart of the Emperor Frederick II. The national policy of Bismarck is set in contrast with the *Weltpolitik* of the kaiser, similar to the medieval contrast between the humbler emperors who confined their

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attentions to Germany and the more famous who sought renown and empire but usually found ruin in Italian ventures. The author builds his structure largely on citations from Prince von Bülow's recent work on *Imperial Germany,* and on the speeches of William II. The concluding chapters are an attempt to prove that in commercial and financial matters Germany was on the eve of a catastrophe at the outbreak of the war.

W. Friedensburg is the editor of *Kurmärkische Ständeakten aus der Regierungszeit Kurfürst Joachims II.* (Munich, Duncker and Humbolt, 1916, vol. II., 1551–1571); and H. von Caemmerer, of *Die Testamente der Kurfürsten von Brandenburg und der beiden ersten Könige von Preussen* (*ibid.,* 1915).

Ludwig Kaas, *Die Geistliche Gerichtsbarkeit der Katholischen Kirche in Preussen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, Enke, 1915, vol. I., pp. xl, 488), relates chiefly to the western provinces of the kingdom.

A monograph on *Der Trierer Festkalender: seine Entwicklung und seine Verwendung zu Urkundendatierungen* (Trier, Lintz, 1915) is by Miesges. F. Rudolph has undertaken the editing of *Quellen zur Rechts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Rheinischen Städte* and has issued the first volume, dealing with *Kurtrierische Städte* (Bonn, Hanstein, 1915). A study relating to the ecclesiastical electorate of Mainz is *Die Entstehung des Weltlichen Territoriums des Erzbistums Mainz* (Darmstadt, Staatsverlag, 1915).

The years 1896–1905 are covered in the fourth volume of the *Bibliographie der Württembergischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1915) edited by O. Leuze, in continuation of the work of W. Heyd and T. Schön.

L'Autriche-Hongrie au Congrès de Berlin, 1878 (Paris, Beauchesne, 1915, pp. lvi, 191) is the Paris law thesis of J. Larmeroux.

E. von Woinovich and A. Veltzé of the historical section of the Austrian general staff have published *Aus der Werkstatt des Krieges, ein Rundblick über die Organisatorische und Soziale Kriegsarbeit, 1914–1915, in Oesterreich-Ungarn* (Vienna, Manz, 1915, pp. 345). "Ein Oesterreicher" has given a biographical account of Conrad von Hoetzendorff, chief of the Austrian general staff, in *Unser Conrad* (Vienna, Heller, 1916, pp. v, 116).

Two additional volumes of the *Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich* (Zürich, Beer, 1915), edited by J. Escher and P. Schweizer, have appeared, which carry the work forward to the third decade of the fourteenth century. R. Hoppeler has edited the volume *Bertschikon bis Dürnten* in *Die Rechtsquellen des Kantons Zürich* (Aarau, Sauerländer,

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1915). In *Die Rechtsquellen des Kantons Aargau* Welti and Merz have edited the volume of *Die Stadtrechte von Laufenburg und Mellingen* (*ibid.*). The seventh volume of A. Bernoulli's *Basler Chroniken* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1915) has also been published.

The affairs of Geneva and of Neuchâtel at the time of the French intervention are studied by F. Barbey in *Félix Desportes et l'Annexion de Genève à la France, 1794–1799, d'après des Documents Inédits* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. xx, 420); and by E. Oppliger, in *Neuenburg, die Schweiz, und Preussen, 1798–1806* (Zürich, Leemann, 1915, pp. 125).

The position of Switzerland in relation to the present war is set forth in W. Vogt, *La Suisse Allemande au Début de la Guerre de 1914* (Paris, Perrin, 1915, pp. 162); in J. Jegerlehner, *Grenzwacht der Schweizer* (Berlin, Grote, 1915, pp. 235); and in E. Chapuisat, *La Guerre Européenne et le Rôle de la Suisse* (Paris, Chapelot, 1915, pp. 110).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Meinecke, *Germanischer und Romanischer Geist im Wandel der Deutschen Geschichtsauffassung* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie, 1916, VI., and Historische Zeitschrift, CXV. 3); J. W. Thompson, *The German Church and the Conversion of the Baltic Slavs*, I. (American Journal of Theology, April); M. Lehmann, *Luther und Zwingli* (Preussische Jahrbücher, January); G. Schmoller, *Fünfhundert Jahre Hohenzollern Herrschaft* (Schmollers Jahrbuch, XL. 1); G. Jäger, *Der Preussisch-Deutsche Staat und seine Machtorganisation* (*ibid.*, XL. 1); G. Schmoller, *Die Entstehung der Deutschen Volkswirtschaft und der Deutschen Sozialreform* (*ibid.*, XXXIX. 4); G. von Below, *Die Deutsche Geschichtschreibung von den Befreiungskriegen bis zu unsern Tagen, Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte* (Internationale Monatsschrift, July 1, August 1, September 1); R. Sieger, *Der Oesterreichische Staatsgedanke und das Deutsche Volk* (Zeitschrift für Politik, IX. 1); O. Weber, *Deutschland und Oesterreich-Ungarn* (*ibid.*); G. Goyau, *Une Personnalité Religieuse, Genève, 1535–1907*, II., III. (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1, April 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

General review: N. Japikse, *Histoire des Pays-Bas* (Revue Historique, March).

The historical society of Groningen has just published, in a large quarto volume, the *Album Studiosorum Academiae Groninganae*, extending from the foundation of the university.

The second volume of T. F. M. Huybers, *Don Juan van Oostenrijk, Landvoogd der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, Van der Vecht, 1914, pp. xii, 356) has appeared.

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In the *Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën,* the twenty-sixth volume is the first of the *Resolutiën der Staaten-General van 1576–1609* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1915, pp. lxx, 678), covering the years 1576–1577 and edited by Dr. N. Japikse. A new life of *Johan De Witt* (Amsterdam, Meulenhoff, 1915, pp. viii, 358) is also by Dr. Japikse.

The archive administration of Leiden has published, in two fascicles, *Archieven van de Kerken,* edited by Dr. J. C. Overvoorde, inventories of the archives of the churches of St. Peter (opposite John Robinson's abode), Our Lady, and St. Pancras.

A. Goslinga has begun the study of the career of one of the eighteenth-century pensionaries of Holland in *Slingelandt's Efforts towards European Peace* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1915, pp. 388, xxiv). The present volume, though published in English, is a Leiden thesis, and only deals with Slingelandt's life prior to his entrance upon the office of pensionary in 1727.

Groen van Prinsterer's *Archives ou Correspondance Inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau* has been completed by F. J. L. Krämer, who has published the third volume of the fifth series, for the period 1782–1789. As yet only a trifling amount of materials for the years 1702–1747 has been found, which may possibly be added to the series in a small volume. For the years 1782–1783, there has also appeared the fourth volume of the *Gedenkschriften van Gijsbert Jan van Hardenbroek* (Amsterdam, Müller, 1915), edited by A. J. van der Meulen.

In addition to the volume for 1815–1824, in his *Gedenkstukken der Algemeene Geschiedenis van Nederland van 1795–1840* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1915, pp. xxxv, 711), Dr. H. T. Colenbrander has also edited the *Gedenkschriften van Anton Reinhard Falck* (*ibid.,* pp. xxv, 796) for the *Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën.*

The seventh volume of *Werken* published by the Linschoten Vereeniging begins the publication of *De Eerste Schipvaert der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1595–1597,* of which this volume contains *D'Eerste Boeck van Willem Lodewijcksz* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1915, pp. xxxiv, 248), edited by G. P. Rouffaer and J. W. IJzerman. P. H. van der Kemp has made a study of a later time in the history of the Dutch East Indies in *Het Nederlandsch-Indisch Bestuur in het Midden van 1817, naar Oorspronkelijke Stukken* (*ibid.,* pp. xlii, 415). The ninth volume of the Linschoten Society is *Dirck Gerritsz Pomp, alias Dirck Gerritsz China* (*ibid.,* 1915), an account, chiefly from Spanish sources, of the first Netherlander (1544–1604) who visited China and Japan, and of his voyage to and residence in South America.

Émile Waxweiler, director of the Solvay Institute in Brussels, has replied to the criticisms of his earlier work on *La Belgique, Neutre et*

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Loyale, and to criticisms of Belgium's behavior, in *Le Procès de la Neutralité Belge: Réplique aux Accusations* (Paris, Payot, 1916, pp. 136). The volume contains many new and important documents. C. P. Sanger and H. T. J. Norton have published *England's Guarantee to Belgium and Luxemburg, with the full Text of the Treaties* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1915, pp. viii, 155). *Le Droit des Nationalités* (Paris, Alcan, 1915, pp. 112), by Eugène Baie, is little more than a group of statements secured by the author, a Belgian, from about twenty prominent representatives of various nationalities.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. S. Unger, *De Hollandsche Graanhandel en Graanhandelspolitiek in de Middeleeuwen,* I. (De Economist, April 15); P. C. Rinaudo, *Il Belgio e un Governo Trentennale* (Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali e Discipline Ausiliarie, January 31, February 29); K. Rathgen, *Belgiens Auswärtige Politik und der Kongo* (Preussische Jahrbücher, December); A. de Bassompierre, *La Nuit du 2 au 3 Août 1914 au Ministère des Affaires Étrangères de Belgique* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

A volume on *Den Svenska Kyrkans Utveckling från St. Bernhards Tidevarf till Innocentius III:s* (Stockholm, Norstedt, 1915) is by Westmann.

Bernadotte and his time in Sweden are the subject of Barton, *Bernadotte, the First Phase, 1763–1799* (New York, Scribner, 1915); O. Kuylenstierna, *Karl Johan och Napoleon, 1797–1814, Til Sveriges Historia under den senaste stora Europeiska Krisen* (Stockholm, Geber, 1915, pp. xv, 283); and Wahlström, *Gustavianska Studier, Historiska Utkast från Tidevarfet, 1772–1809* (Stockholm, Norstedt, 1915).

The international position of Sweden is discussed in Hjärne, *Österuropas Kriser och Sveriges Försvar, Politiska Utkast, 1880–1914* (Upsala, Askerberg, 1915).

Dr. Robert J. Kerner of the University of Missouri has prepared for the Bibliographical Society of America an excellent general survey of *The Foundations of Slavic Bibliography,* which has been published by the University of Chicago Press as a pamphlet of 39 pages, likely to be very serviceable to librarians and historical scholars.

Leo Pasvolsky is the editor of *The Russian Review, a Monthly Magazine devoted to Russian Life, Literature, and Art* (Russian Review Publishing Company, 31 East 7th St., New York, I. 1, February, 1916). A section of the magazine is devoted to the war, and other articles are often of related interest.

The racial problems of the Balkan peoples are discussed in M. R.

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Sirianu, *La Question de Transylvanie et l'Unité Politique Roumaine* (Paris, Jouve, 1916, pp. 440), which includes an account of Rumania's relation to the present war; "Balcanicus", said to be a prominent Serbian, *La Bulgarie, ses Ambitions, sa Trahison* (Paris, Colin, 1915); H. Barby, correspondent of the *Journal* of Paris, *L'Épopée Serbe, l'Agonie d'un Peuple* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916); and P. de Lanux, *La Yougoslavie, la France et les Serbes* (Paris, Payot, 1916).

Russian Foreign Policy in the East (pp. 38), by Milivoy S. Stanoyevich, M.L., of the University of California, is a useful, although from its very brevity unsatisfying, summary of Russian foreign policy from about the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present time. The subject is treated in four chapters, dealing, respectively, with Russia's policy in the Near East, the Middle East, the Far East, and the period since the Japanese war. The first three chapters make the aims and achievements fairly clear, but the last chapter does not clarify our ideas very much. There is a bibliography of ten pages (Oakland and San Francisco, Liberty Publishing Company).

Dr. C. Nawratzki has written an account of *Die Jüdische Kolonisation Palästinas* (Munich, E. Reinhardt, 1915).

Twenty Years in Baghdad and Syria, by Canon Joseph Thomas Parfit, is a personal study of the growth of German influence in the East, which appeared originally as a series in the *Evening News.*

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: S. Posner, *La Vie Politique en Pologne avant la Guerre* (Mercure de France, April 16); E. Haumont, *Karageorges: son Armée, ses Adversaires* (Revue Historique, May–June); Salih Munir Pacha, *Réflexions sur la Turquie d'Autrefois* (Revue Politique Internationale, January); L. Maecas, *La Crise Hellénique* (Revue de Paris, February 1).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

A new volume in the *Biblioteca Coloniale,* by Professor E. Catellani of Padua, deals with *La Penetrazione Straniera nell' Estremo Oriente, sue Forme Giuridiche ed Economiche* (Florence, Barbera, 1915, pp. 500).

The Hakluyt Society has published vol. I. of a new edition of Sir Henry Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither,* ably edited by Professor Henri Cordier.

A sketch of the history of Cambodia will be found in *Histoire Sommaire du Royaume de Cambodge des Origines à nos Jours* (Saigon, Ardin, 1914, pp. 159), by Dr. H. Russier.

Volume VII., part I., of Sir Charles P. Lucas's *Historical Geography of the British Colonies* deals with India, and is the work of P. E. Roberts.

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To those interested in the history of science a volume of much interest is that of Brajendranath Seal, *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus,* published by Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company.

G. A. Natesan has collected a mass of materials in *All about the War: the Indian Review War Book* (Madras, Natesan, 1915, pp. xxiv, 440). The German view of the situation in India may be found in S. Konow, *Indien unter der Englischen Herrschaft* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1915, pp. vii, 142).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. W. Rockhill, *Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century,* II. 2, III. (T'Oung Pao, May, July, 1915); A. Bellessort, *L'Apôtre des Indes et du Japon, François de Xavier* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15, March 15); M. Courant, *La Politique de Japon pendant la Première Année de la Guerre Européenne* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, February 15).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published Professor A. B. Faust's *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives,* a volume of 299 pages. The manuscript of Mr. Golder's *Guide* to the Russian archives is in the printers' hands. The index to Professor Hill's *Descriptive Catalogue* of the "Papeles de Cuba" has been completed and sent to the printer. The Institution is now ready to offer for sale ten sets of photographs which it has caused to be prepared in the Archives of the Indies, representing (1766–1791) the regular series of despatches from the Spanish governors of Louisiana to the captains general of Cuba, the central series in the Papeles de Cuba. The series consists of 2989 plates, to be sold at a little less than cost price—three hundred dollars.

Under a misapprehension of a phrase in the last report of the Librarian of Congress, the statement was made in these pages, in our last issue, that the Library had completed its plans as to securing transcripts of documents in the British archives relating to American history. On the contrary, the inflow of these British transcripts still continues, and will continue indefinitely.

Recent accessions to the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress include: two volumes of papers of General Thomas Sumter, principally Revolutionary correspondence and orders; log-books (360 vols.) of 61 British war-ships, 1808–1840, chiefly of the period of the War of 1812; a large addition to the papers of General George B. McClellan, the gift of his son, Hon. George B. McClellan, jr.; some Lincoln manu-

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scripts, including the first and second autograph drafts of the Gettysburg Address and the autograph of the second inaugural address (gifts of the family of the late John Hay), and Lincoln's memorandum of August 23, 1864, pledging support to the next administration, and endorsed by members of the Cabinet (the gift of Miss Helen Nicolay); correspondence of Mrs. Horace Mann with Spanish-American educators on the subject of a public school system for Argentina; also her correspondence with General Ethan Allen Hitchcock on Civil War matters; and the letter-book of James Redpath when he was general agent of emigration for Haiti in 1861.

Our Military History: its Facts and Fallacies, by Maj.-Gen. Leonard Wood, U. S. A., though treating of the past is primarily concerned with the future. It is published by Reilly and Britton.

The second volume of the *Catholic Historical Review* (April number) opens with a careful article on the Lost Province of Quivira by the Rev. Michael Shine, who identifies Quivira with Nebraska. Father Victor O'Daniel continues his scholarly work on the life of Bishop Concanen and on the latter's election to the see of New York, accompanied by valuable documents. Professor Charles H. McCarthy has a paper on the attitude of Spain during the American Revolution.

In the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society for March the paper of Augustin de Iturbide on Don Augustin de Iturbide is concluded, as is also the diary of Father Marie Joseph Durand. The life of Bishop Conwell is continued.

Vol. XIV. of the *Journal* of the American-Irish Historical Society (1914–1915, 350 pp.) contains biographical sketches of Bishop John England and of the American-Irish governors of Pennsylvania. The historiographer of the society, Mr. Michael J. O'Brien, presents an important article on the various records—immigration, land, probate, vital, military, and other—of the Irish in America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The second or April number of the *Journal of Negro History* more than maintains the high ground occupied by the first number. Professor Kelly Miller of Howard University has an excellent article on the Early Negro Physician in the United States; W. B. Hartgrove, on the Negro Soldier in the American Revolution; Dr. C. G. Woodson, the editor, on Freedom and Slavery in Appalachian America, and A. O. Stafford on the Arabian poet Antar. The section devoted to "Documents" presents some fifty pages of advertisements concerning slaves from American newspapers of the eighteenth century, descriptive matter of great interest.

Among the contents of the November–December number of the *Magazine of History* are an account of Some Medical Men in the Revo-

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lution, by Dr. Sydney H. Carney, jr.; a Thanksgiving sermon preached by Rev. Israel Evans at Easton, Pennsylvania, October 17, 1779; a continuation of Captain Asa N. Hays's War-Time Recollections; some letters and extracts of letters, 1805–1822, from Thomas Jefferson, principally to J. W. Eppes and Thomas M. Randolph; and some extracts from the diary of John Fell, of New Jersey, when he was a delegate in the Continental Congress, 1778–1779. The January–February number includes a paper on Anne Hutchinson, by Mrs. Carrie M. W. Weiss; one on the Vermont of the Revolution, by Rev. F. W. Holden; and a reprint, from the April number of this journal, of documents on the Relations between the Vermont Separatists and Great Britain.

With Americans of Past and Present Days is the title of a book of addresses and articles by J. J. Jusserand, French ambassador to the United States, which Messrs. Scribner have recently issued.

Two works on the presidency by ex-President Taft have recently appeared. The one, comprising the Columbia University lectures, is entitled *Our Chief Magistrate and his Powers* (Lemcke and Buechner); the other, which embodies three lectures given at the University of Virginia, is entitled *The Presidency: its Duties, its Powers, its Opportunities, its Limitations* (Scribner).

Joseph B. Bishop's *Presidential Nominations and Elections: a History of American Conventions, National Campaigns, Inaugurations, and Campaign Caricatures* (Scribner) contains some account of election machinery but is chiefly concerned with personalities, incidents, etc.

The Centennial History of the American Bible Society, in two volumes, by Henry Otis Dwight, has been brought out by Macmillan.

Fifty Years of Association Work among Young Women, 1866–1916: a History of Young Women's Christian Associations in the United States of America, by Eliza Wilson, has been published in New York by the Y. W. C. A. National Board.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Upon land in New York City presented by Mr. Archer M. Huntington, in the neighborhood of the building of the Hispanic Society, a Museum of the American Indian is to be erected, to contain, along with other and subsequent accumulations, a collection of some 400,000 Indian objects brought together during many years by Mr. George G. Heye.

Mr. William M. Fitzhugh has purchased the collection of Indian objects, more than twenty thousand in number, formed by the late Professor T. S. C. Lowe, and has presented it to the city of San Francisco.

Physical Anthropology of the Lenape or Delawares, and of the Eastern Indians in General (*Bulletin* of the Bureau of American Eth-

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nology, no. 62), by Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, is a study of the skeletal materials brought to light as a result of the anthropological explorations conducted in the upper Delaware River valley in 1914 in behalf of the Museum of the American Indian in New York. Fifty-seven skeletons were found in a cemetery at Minisink. The author had in a previous study ("The Crania of Trenton, New Jersey, and their Bearing upon the Antiquity of Man in that Region", in *Bulletin XVI.* of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, 1902) described all the crania of the Lenape or Delaware Indians then preserved in our museums. One conclusion which the author reaches in consequence of these studies is that the Iroquois are physically identical with the eastern Algonquin tribes.

Mr. Clarence B. Moore has printed in volume XVI. of the *Journal* of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia an extensive memoir on Aboriginal Sites on the Tennessee River, recording the results of his investigations along that river during the winter season of 1914–1915.

We have received from Dr. Arthur H. Buffinton of Williams College a careful treatise on New England and the Western Fur-Trade, 1629–1675, reprinted, in advance, from the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

Messrs. Henry Stevens, Son, and Stiles of London, have issued a catalogue far beyond the ordinary bookseller's catalogue in historical value, and distinctly deserving mention to bibliographers. Under the title *A Century of American Printing, 1701 to 1800,* they have listed 1100 selections from their stock, printed in America in the century named, in a list arranged in alphabetical order of places of publication. Besides the value which this collocation gives to the pamphlet, it is enriched with many learned bibliographical notes.

Some British Soldiers in America, by Captain W. H. Wilkin, includes serviceable biographies of several of the more prominent British officers in high command in America in the Revolutionary War, and of three, at least, who are not so well known. Those whose careers are recounted in the book are Howe, Carleton, Clinton, Rawdon, Simcoe, Tarleton, Ferguson, Meadows, Harris, and Hale. Because the last three are so little known and also because the chapters concerning them include numerous letters and extracts from letters written by them during the war, probably more Americans will be interested in their biographies than in those of the better known commanders. Sir William Meadows and Lord Harris, to use titles acquired subsequent to their service in America, both attained to high military rank in after years. The letters of Captain William John Hale (1776–1778) are of especial interest.

Relations between the United States and Great Britain, 1776–1915

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(pp. 62), by Juliet Green, comes from Hollywood High School, Los Angeles, California, and is issued as *Hollywood Junior College Studies,* no. 1. Dr. Frederic W. Sanders, head of the department of history, furnishes an introduction. An appendix contains the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901.

Professor Gilbert Chinard, in *Notes sur le Voyage de Chateaubriand en Amérique, Juillet–Décembre 1791* (University of California, pp. 81) shows that while Chateaubriand no doubt went as far west as Niagara, his observations on the Great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi are largely derived from Carver and Imlay and give no evidence of actual travel.

The New York Public Library has issued a *List of References on Political Parties in the United States, 1800–1914,* compiled by Alta B. Claflin.

In the *Geographical Review* for May, Professor Annie H. Abel of Smith College describes a map of the Missouri River region lately discovered among the papers of the Indian Office at Washington, which seems to have originated with John Evans, agent of the Missouri Company, and to have been used by Lewis and Clark on their expedition.

The Life and Ventures of the Original John Jacob Astor, by Eliza L. Gebhard, has been brought out in Hudson, New York, by the Bryan Printing Company.

Volume VI. (1816–1819) of *The Writings of John Quincy Adams,* edited by Worthington C. Ford, has come from the press (Macmillan).

Proceedings at the Unveiling of a Memorial to Horace Greeley at Chappaqua, New York, February 3, 1914, with reports of other Greeley celebrations related to the centennial of his birth, February 3, 1911, is put forth by the department of archives and history of the state of New York, with an introduction by the state historian, James A. Holden. There are many addresses in the volume, and there are also some studies and reminiscences, as well as some pages of newspaper comment and appreciation. There are also some 35 pages embodying characteristic utterances of Greeley, together with a few campaign addresses and extracts, and a few original letters. An appendix contains ten pages of references to biographical material on Greeley.

Macmillan's series *True Stories of Great Americans* now includes *Abraham Lincoln,* by Daniel E. Wheeler.

Houghton Mifflin Company has published *Abraham Lincoln, the Lawyer-Statesman,* by J. T. Richards.

The Department of Commerce has published, as special publication no. 37, and apparently upon occasion of the recent centennial of the

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United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, a pamphlet of seventy-two pages, on the *Military and Naval Service of the United States Coast Survey, 1861–1865*, made up from contemporary reports and correspondence.

An interesting address, delivered before the Supreme Court of North Carolina by Captain Samuel A. Ashe on occasion of the presentation of a portrait of George Davis to the court, has been printed as a pamphlet with the title *George Davis, Attorney-General of the Confederate States* (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton, 1916, pp. 25).

The May number of the *American Journal of Sociology* consists entirely (pages 721–864) of an article by the editor of the journal, Professor Albion W. Small of Chicago, entitled "Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States (1865–1915)", in which an admirable, comprehensive, and most interesting survey of the progress not only of sociology but of allied social sciences is presented.

Dr. F. E. Haynes's *Third Party Movements since the Civil War, with special Reference to Iowa* has been issued (Iowa State Historical Society).

Largely from the testimony in the government suit to dissolve the corporation, so the author says, Mr. Arundel Cotter has compiled *The Authentic History of the United States Steel Corporation*, which is published by the Moody Magazine and Book Company. The author frankly confesses a predilection for the corporation as marking the dawn of a new and better era in industrial history.

Woodrow Wilson: the Man and his Work: a Biographical Study, by Henry Jones Ford, is from the press of Appleton.

Mr. Lawrence B. Evans's *Samuel W. McCall, Governor of Massachusetts* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, pp. 242) was obviously prepared with a view to politics of the present day; yet, its subject being an historical scholar of repute and having played a distinguished part in congressional history during twenty years, the book does not fail to be of value and interest to historical scholars.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

An intelligent and valuable treatise by Dr. Percy W. Bidwell of Yale University on "Rural Economy in New England at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century", is published in volume XX. of the *Transactions* of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. The subject is one of obvious importance, even to the student of political history; we do not know of any previous study of it so excellent.

On Saturday, June 10, 1916, the two hundredth anniversary of the second and permanent settlement of Falmouth, now Portland, Maine,

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was celebrated under civic auspices. The celebration included a parade, and an address by Hon. James P. Baxter having special reference to the services of Major Samuel Moody in connection with the Indian troubles by which the settlement on Falmouth Neck was broken up.

The *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society for the years 1913–1914 includes an address, delivered by Hon. Frank C. Partridge before the society, January 19, 1915, on the life and services of Senator Redfield Proctor; a speech of Senator Proctor on conditions in Cuba, delivered in the United States Senate, March 17, 1898; Otter Creek in History, an address by Hon. Henry W. Hill of Buffalo, delivered at Fort Cassin, Vermont, in September, 1914; and a paper by Dorman B. E. Kent concerning Vermonters who have attained prominence. The paper is accompanied by a catalogue (occupying more than 100 pages of text) of a thousand prominent Vermonters born within the period 1768–1879.

No. 207 of the *Old South Leaflets* is a reprint, edited by Mr. Samuel E. Morison, of two important tracts of the Massachusetts Puritans in 1630, *The Humble Request* and John Winthrop's *Modell of Christian Charity*.

The March serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society contains a sketch of Peter Harrison, the first professional architect in America, by Mr. Charles Henry Hart; a letter from Captain Samuel Morris, dated at Cap François, February 28, 1797, describing his experience in Santo Domingo, and a paper on the Washington Benevolent Society in New England: a Phase of Politics during the War of 1812, by William A. Robinson of Washington University, St. Louis.

The *Massachusetts Magazine* for January contains an historical and descriptive account of the library of the American Antiquarian Society, by Agnes Edwards; also an account of Colonel Moses Little's regiment in the Revolutionary War, including biographical sketches of the officers.

In the April number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* the journal of Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks, Loyalist rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, 1778–1779, is continued.

The *Reports* of the Director of the New York State Library for 1913 and 1914 (*Bulletin* of the University of the State of New York, nos. 609 and 613, respectively), show good progress in the work of repairing and arranging the manuscripts saved from the fire. It is estimated that the salvage of the Revolutionary manuscripts (originally 55 volumes) amounts to about two-fifths of the collection. During the years covered by these reports there have been acquisitions of considerable importance. Some of these are: about 50 letters and papers of General Philip Schuyler; 61 of Israel Keith; seven volumes of abstracts of Ulster County records, 1661–1728; a body of transcripts of Sir Wil-

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liam Johnson papers (1747–1774) from the British Public Record Office; thirteen letters of General James Wilkinson, 1804–1821; 55 letters of Timothy Jenkins of Oneida County, written principally from Washington when he was a member of Congress, 1845–1849, 1851–1853; the diary of a German officer who served with the Hessian troops in 1776–1777; an orderly book (January to June, 1777) of General William Howe, exactly filling the gap of Howe's orderly books printed in the New York Historical Society's *Collections* for 1884; and copies of the early records of many of the Dutch Reformed churches in New York. The library will shortly publish a volume of translations from early Dutch records in the Albany county clerk's office. The translations, made by Professor W. L. Pearson of Schenectady, will be edited by Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, state archivist.

In a luxurious volume entitled *Manhattan, 1624–1639*, published by the author at 90 West Street, New York, Mr. Edward Van Winkle, recording secretary of the Holland Society, presents full details as to the location and occupancy, in the earliest period, of the various farms and plantations, bouweries and breweries, with a brief biography of each early settler and a reproduction of the Vingboom map.

Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes has published the first volume (pp. 525) of *The Iconography of Manhattan Island,* to be completed within a year in four sumptuous volumes, in an edition of 402 copies, with many fine illustrations. The work surveys the history of the island of Manhattan and of the city of New York in their physical and topographical aspects and is a product of several years of extensive research on the part of the author, with assistance from Mr. Victor H. Paltsits. Volume I. deals with the period of discovery and with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in their general aspects, though the cartography of that period is reserved for the second volume.

Excavations near 204th Street, New York City, two blocks west of Broadway, have brought to light a series of some fifty huts, occupied in 1776 by the American army under General William Heath and later by Hessians and English soldiers of various regiments. A variety of interesting relics have been found.

The *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* for April contains a bibliographical sketch of the late Norman B. Ream, by Dr. Clarence W. Bowen; also a number of letters and documents (1780–1782) from the papers of Col. Hugh Hughes, deputy quartermaster general in the Revolution, contributed by George A. Morrison, jr.

Volume XIX. of the *Publications* of the Buffalo Historical Society, edited by Frank H. Severance, is in respect of about half its contents a tribute to the late Josephus N. Larned, including a biographical address by John B. Olmsted, selected essays and historical and other

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addresses of Larned, and a bibliography of his writings. There is also a tribute, by Henry R. Howland, to Henry A. Richmond (1840–1913), a prominent citizen of Buffalo and close friend of Larned. The remainder of the volume principally relates to the periodical press of Buffalo. This includes a bibliography (1811–1915), compiled by Frank H. Severance, and three papers, namely: When our Press was Young, reminiscences written in 1885 by J. C. Brayman, Early Days of the Buffalo *Courier,* written in 1896 by Joseph Stringham, and the *Courier* in the Early Eighties, by Frederick J. Shepard. Following the bibliography are found 31 portraits of Buffalo editors, and biographical sketches of some of them, together with other material pertaining to the subject. The Notes, as usual, contain also materials of interest. There are, for instance, some letters relating to the Greeley peace conference at Niagara Falls in 1864, and three letters of Parkman, the historian, written in 1849, 1867, and 1882, respectively.

The *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society, vol. X., no. 3 (July and October, 1915), contains a brief article by J. F. Folsom concerning a Slave Indenture of Colonial Days, the conclusion of J. L. Rankin's account of Newark Town Government from 1666 to 1833, and the concluding installment of the journal of John Reading (1719). Beginning with January, 1916, a "New Series" of the *Proceedings* is inaugurated, which, it is contemplated, shall continue indefinitely, condemnation having been pronounced upon the whole race and generation of "series". This first number contains a group of depositions, etc., throwing light upon the death of Chaplain James Caldwell, shot by a sentry at Elizabethtown in 1781. These documents, together with a letter of Caldwell to Elbridge Gerry in Congress, October 6, 1778, also printed, came from the collection of the late William Nelson. Mr. P. H. Hoffman contributes a first article on Caspar Steinmets and his Descendants.

The city of Newark, New Jersey, celebrated with appropriate ceremonies, pageants, parades, etc., May 1 to 18, the 250th anniversary of its founding. As a "Record of Work and a Program of Events" for the celebration the *Newarker* has been published monthly, wherein may be found occasional articles of historical interest.

The second number (April) of the *Vineland Historical Magazine* continues the journal of Charles K. Landis, founder of Vineland, New Jersey, and a paper by Mrs. Mary E. Schley on the Early Settlers of Vineland.

The Division of Public Records in the Pennsylvania State Library has now completed, in five volumes, an index to the sixth series of the *Pennsylvania Archives.* It has also completed an arrangement of the Berks, Cumberland, and York county papers. The state librarian has just completed a new edition of the *Frontier Forts,* first published in 1895.

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The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has received, by gift from Captain Edward Carpenter, U. S. A., the Carpenter Family Papers, 11 volumes of manuscript, 1014 manuscripts; from the late William Brooke Rawle, six volumes of Rawle Papers, four volumes of Shoemaker Papers, and four volumes relating to the cavalry fight on the right flank at Gettysburg; and from the estate of Dr. George Smith, a collection consisting of letters of William Hamilton, of the Woodlands, 1784–1804, and papers relating to the estate of Andrew Hamilton, 394 manuscripts.

The January number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains an article, by Hampton L. Carson, on James T. Mitchell, late chief justice of the supreme court of Pennsylvania, William Penn's journal of his second visit to Ireland (1669–1670), and selections from the military papers of Brig.-Gen. William Irvine. The April number includes "A Tour through Part of England, by Mary Shackleton, in the Year 1784"; Fanny Saltar's Reminiscences of Colonial Days in Philadelphia, contributed by Mrs. E. B. Hoskins; Letters of Eliza Farmar to her Nephew, *1774, 1775,* and *1783;* and Letters of Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 1746–1748.

The principal article in the March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* is the First Sixty Years of the Church of England in Maryland, 1632–1692, by Lawrence C. Wroth.

Dr. George C. Keidel of the Library of Congress published in the Catonsville *Argus* of 1912 and 1913, a series of thirty-five articles on the Colonial History of Catonsville. A small number of copies of these have been put up by him in the shape of volumes, for sale.

Volume II. of the *History of the National Capital,* by W. B. Bryan, has come from the press (Macmillan).

The General Assembly of Virginia at its recent session appropriated $4000 for the purchase of fire-proof filing-cases for the manuscript material in the department of archives and history, and $1500 for binding in the Library, of which a large portion will be used in binding manuscript materials. The archivist, Mr. Morgan P. Robinson, has completed the flat-filing and chronological arrangement of the petitions to the General Assembly, 1776–1865, some 20,000 in number. These will then be indexed.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* prints in the April number the second part of the interesting narrative by Franz Ludwig Michel of his journey from Switzerland to Virginia in 1701–1702. Mr. David I. Bushnell's article, in his series of papers on the Virginia Frontier in History, relates to the treaty of Fort Pitt, September 17, 1778, and embodies the record of the conference, September 12 to 17, of which the treaty was the fruit. In this number also are printed the proceedings of the Virginia Historical Society in the annual meeting held March

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20, 1916. The principal matter is the annual report of the president of the society, Captain W. Gordon McCabe. It is chiefly devoted to the commemoration of deceased members, Judge Theodore S. Garnett of Norfolk, Major John P. Branch of Richmond, and Lothrop Withington, the genealogist, lost on the *Lusitania,* and is to be heartily commended to any who will enjoy seeing a fine specimen of the spirit of Old Virginia surviving in the present time.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* continues in the April number the letters of Major Thomas Rowland, C. S. A., the letters of James Rumsey, and Mr. William Clayton-Torrence's articles on Henrico County, Virginia: Beginnings of its Families.

Pioneer Settlers of Grayson County, Virginia, by B. F. Nuckolls, is put forth in Bristol, Tennessee, by the King Press.

The James Sprunt Historical Publications, vol. XIV., no. 1 (pp. 91), comprises a collection of letters from Charles W. Harris (1771–1804) to his uncle and to his brother. One group of the letters, written while Harris was connected with the infant University of North Carolina (1795–1796), is of particular interest for the early history of that institution. The other letters were written for the most part from Halifax, North Carolina, where Harris was engaged in the practice of law, and to his brother. They touch frequently upon local and national politics, but relate principally to personal matters. The letters have been extensively annotated by H. M. Wagstaff. Volume XIV., no. 2, is a monograph by Francis H. Cooper, entitled Some Colonial History of Beaufort County, North Carolina. It is not a connected history of the county but sketches of phases and incidents in its history. Volume XV., nos. 1 and 2 (double number, pp. 212), is a monograph, by Professor J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, on Party Politics in North Carolina, 1835–1860. Of especial interest are two introductory chapters, one on the political significance of the convention of 1835, the other on the social, economic, and political background at the opening of the period under consideration. The book consists for the most part of a chapter upon each of the biennial campaigns, wherein the author brings into view its principal factors, personal and other, giving a tolerably clear view of the politics of the state and of party development.

The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine for January contains an article on the Seabrook family, by Miss Mabel L. Webber, and continuations of the orderly book of J. F. Grimké and of the parish register of St. James', Santee.

The *Proceedings* of the first meeting of the Alabama History Teachers' Association (*Publications* of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Historical and Patriotic Societies series) includes three papers read at the meeting: the Teaching of Local History and Civics, by F. L. Grove; Aids in Vitalizing the Facts of History, by J. B.

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Clark; and Aids in Visualizing the Facts of History, by Miss Mattie W. Thompson.

The June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains a paper by Mr. V. W. Crane on the Tennessee River as the Road to Carolina: the Beginnings of Exploration and Trade; by Professor C. W. Alvord, on Virginia and the West, an Interpretation; Professor L. B. Schmidt's paper on the Economic History of American Agriculture as a Field for Study, read at the last meeting of the American Historical Association; and a general survey of Historical Activities in the Old Northwest, by Professor A. C. Cole. All are articles of high merit and there are excellent reviews of books.

The ninth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Nashville on April 27, 28, and 29, 1916. From among the many papers read, illustrating a wide variety of topics in the history of the Middle West, we will mention especially the address of Professor William E. Dodd of Chicago on "Henry Clay, Insurgent, 1817–1825", and that of Professor Archibald Henderson, on the "Beginnings of Nashville". Professor Frederic L. Paxson of Wisconsin was elected president for the ensuing year.

The pages of the April number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* are occupied principally with the proceedings of the ninth annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, held at Columbus, October 21 and 22, 1915. The papers read at the meeting which find place in the *Quarterly* are: Woman's Suffrage in the Constitutional Convention of Ohio, by D. C. Shilling; Early Religious Movements in Pittsburgh, by Professor Homer J. Webster; Early Religious Movements in the Muskingum Valley, by Professor C. L. Martzolff; Early Newspapers in the Virginias, by Henry S. Green; Influences of Early Religious Literature in the Ohio Valley from 1815 to 1850, by Mrs. Irene D. Cornwell; the Location of the Site of the Ohio Capital, by E. O. Randall; and the Centennial Churches of the Miami Valley, by J. E. Bradford.

The January–March number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* comprises the fourth of the Selections from the Follett Papers. The letters, twenty in number, extend over the period from 1833 to 1848 and relate largely to political conditions in New York and Ohio. Two of the letters (1833) are from Oran Follett to William L. Marcy, two (1837, 1840) to Thurlow Weed, two (1839, 1842) to James T. Morehead of Kentucky; while of those written to Follett two (1834) are from Millard Fillmore, two (1848) from William H. Seward, and five (1848) from Elisha Whittlesey, member of Congress from Ohio, 1823–1838.

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The first number (March) of the *Ohio History Teachers' Journal* has appeared. The *Journal* is issued as a *Bulletin* of the Ohio State University and is to appear four times a year, namely, in January, March, May, and November. The managing editor is Professor Wilbur H. Siebert. The articles in this number, besides some prefatory remarks by the editor concerning the mission of the *Journal*, are: the Evolution of the American Common School, by Professor F. P. Graves; Changing Ideals and Methods of Teaching American History, by Professor E. J. Benton; Teaching Citizenship in the Public Schools, by E. G. Pumphrey; a New Tool in Education (the Museum), by Professor S. C. Derby; the Use of Aids to History Teaching in Ohio, by U. M. McCaughey; How to Reach the Pupils in History Teaching, by Frances Walsh; and Justification for a Study of Ohio History in our Schools, by Professor C. L. Martzolff.

The articles in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are: the First Public Land Surveys in Indiana, by George R. Wilson; the Election of 1852 in Indiana (concluded), by Dale Beeler; Samuel Merrill, Indiana's Second State Treasurer (1792–1855), from the papers of Catharine Merrill; the Settlement of Worthington and Old Point Commerce, by Robert Weems; and a further communication by Hubert M. Skinner relative to "tassements".

The belated October (1915) number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* includes an article by Frank R. Grover on Indian Treaties affecting Lands in Illinois; one by John M. Lansden concerning General Grant's visit to Cairo, Illinois, in 1880; a sketch, by W. T. Norton, of Robert Smith, a member of Congress from Illinois, 1843–1849, and 1857–1859; the Manierre Family in Early Chicago History, by George Manierre; and a number of brief articles of local interest.

The Chicago Historical Society reports the receipt of some 3000 manuscripts known as the Law family papers, illustrating the history of Chicago from the earliest times, and the loan, with privilege of copying, of a letter-book of the American Fur Company, kept at Mackinac in 1823–1827 (see next page).

The Lakeside Press of Chicago expects shortly to issue, in its series of *Lakeside Classics*, the *Autobiography of Black Hawk*, edited by Dr. M. M. Quaife of the Wisconsin Historical Society, who has also recently edited, for publication by the Caxton Club of Chicago, a volume entitled the *Development of Chicago, 1673–1914*, consisting of selections from the original sources.

The *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at its sixty-third annual meeting, October 21, 1915, has come from the press. There is a frontispiece portrait of Dr. Gaillard Hunt, chief of the division of manuscripts of the Library of Congress, and an exceedingly interesting

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and instructive address by him, on "The President of the United States". Other historical papers are the Settlement of the Town of Lebanon, Dodge County, by W. F. Whyte; Remains of a French Post near Trempealeau, by Eben D. Pierce, and others; Chicago's First Great Lawsuit, by Eugene E. Prussing; an article on Rock Island, by Hjalmar R. Holand; British Policy on the Canadian Frontier, 1782–1792: Mediation and an Indian Barrier State, by Orpha E. Leavitt; and Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal, and Others, edited with introduction and notes, by M. M. Quaife. It is of interest to note the progress made by the society in copying Wisconsin materials in Washington and St. Louis. In Washington the House files have been searched through the year 1848, and some 10,000 pages of materials relating to Wisconsin have been copied. From the Indian Office have been obtained about 25,000 pages of manuscript relating to Indian affairs in Wisconsin and the contiguous region, to 1860 inclusive. A body of materials in possession of the Missouri Historical Society, principally relating to the fur-trade, has also been copied.

The same society has also published, as no. 81 of its *Bulletins of Information,* a pamphlet of twenty pages on the Keyes and Civil War collections of manuscripts in its library. Volume XXII. of the *Collections,* devoted to the journals of Sergeant John Ordway and Meriwether Lewis, is expected from the printer about the first of July, and volume XXIII., the fourth of the Draper Series, *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio,* will probably be published early in the autumn. The society also expects to publish within the next few months a bibliography of works in its library on the subject of Indian missions, prepared by Miss Martha L. Edwards, and a treatise on historical pageantry, with a select bibliography, by Miss Ethel T. Rockwell. The library has been enriched by the addition of a mass of several thousand letters and other papers, 1850–1890, from the office of the adjutant-general of Wisconsin, and by the loan of two letter-books of the American Fur Company, kept at Mackinac, 1817–1825, of which photostatic copies are being made for the society, for the Michigan Historical Commission, for the Chicago Historical Society, and for the library of the University of Illinois. An account of the economic history of Wisconsin in the decade 1860–1870, prepared by Mr. Frederick Merk for the society, will soon be published. The society also plans to issue an historical atlas of Wisconsin, and to publish a documentary history of the state's constitutions and, in a series of several volumes, the executive records of the state.

Mr. William B. Mitchell, who came to Minnesota in 1857, has made an important addition to the literature of Minnesota local history by his *History of Stearns County, Minnesota* (Chicago, H. C. Cooper and Company, 1915, 2 vols., pp. 1536).

The Minnesota Historical Society has received from John R. Cummins of Minneapolis, who came to Minnesota in 1856, a series of diaries kept from 1855 to the present time.

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In the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* Thomas Teakle writes of the Romance in Iowa History, Ruth A. Gallaher presents the second of her papers on the Indian Agent in the United States since 1850, and Hiram F. White recounts the career of Samuel R. Thurston (1816–1851) in Iowa and Oregon.

The April number of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains an extended article by C. H. McClure on Early Opposition to Thomas Hart Benton; also the first of a series of articles by David W. Eaton on How Missouri Counties, Towns, and Streams were Named. The index to historical articles in Missouri newspapers, a useful feature of the *Review*, deals in this number with newspaper issues of December, 1915.

The articles in the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* are the Spanish Search for La Salle's Colony, 1685–1689, by W. E. Dunn; the first paper in an extended study of the Cattle Industry in the Southwest, by Clara M. Love; the Beginnings of the Mission of Nuestra Señora del Refugio, by Herbert E. Bolton; and the eighteenth installment of the British Correspondence concerning Texas, edited by Professor E. D. Adams.

The "source readings" (painful but now frequent expression) in Texas history which appear in the Texas History Teachers' *Bulletin* for May 15 relate to local government in Austin's colony, 1829–1831. They are drawn from the minutes of the town council of San Felipe de Austin and are contributed by Professor E. C. Barker.

Seven institutions will be prosecuting archaeological excavations and explorations in New Mexico this summer: the School of American Archaeology at Puyé, the Commercial Museum of Philadelphia at Otowi, the Andover Academy at Pecos, the George Heye Indian Museum and the Bureau of American Ethnology at Zuñi, the University of California in western New Mexico, and the American Museum of Natural History in New Mexico and Arizona. The Department of the Interior will make similar investigations in the Mesa Verde National Park.

The President of the United States, by a proclamation dated February 11, 1916, has created in New Mexico, under the provisions of the Act of Congress of June 8, 1906, the Bandelier National Monument, consisting of the ancient Pueblo ruins and other aboriginal remains lying within an area of more than 20,000 acres in the Santa Fé National Forest, and including the ancient structures at Rito de los Frijoles, the Painted Caves, the Stone Lions, and the ruins of Otowi and Sankawi. The name is given in memory of the late Adolf F. Bandelier.

To the April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* Mr. W. D. Lyman contributes "Some Observations upon the Negative Testimony and the General Spirit and Methods of Bourne and Marshall in Dealing with the Whitman Question", a sharp criticism of Marshall in

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particular and of Bourne only in lesser measure. Other articles in the *Quarterly* are: a brief account, by Mrs. Mary P. Frost, of her journey to Oregon in 1854, in which many of the party were killed by the Indians; the story, by Lulu D. Crandall, of the *Colonel Wright*, a steamboat placed in service on the Columbia River in 1859; and a paper by Professor E. S. Meany, on the First American Settlement on Puget Sound. The Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House, edited by Mr. Bagley, is continued.

In the March number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* O. B. Sperlin presents an extended study of the Indian of the Northwest as revealed by the Earliest Journals. Appended to the article is a list of more than fifty journals used in the study. Harrison C. Dale discusses briefly the question whether the returning Astorians used the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, introducing a letter of Ramsay Crooks, one of the leaders of the party, written June 28, 1856, particularly in criticism of the claim of discovery put forward in behalf of John C. Frémont. A document of some interest is a Hudson's Bay Company contract (1850). The Correspondence of Rev. Ezra Fisher is continued.

The Case for the Filipino, by Maximo M. Kalaw, with an introduction by Manuel L. Quezon, delegate in Congress from the Philippines, discusses the American occupation of the islands and makes a plea for their independence (Century Company).

The Public Archives of Canada, besides continued acquisition of transcripts from London and Paris, the latter nearly completing series B of the Archives des Colonies, has obtained transcripts of a large part of the registers of the Sovereign Council at Quebec, of the papers of Sir Louis Lafontaine at Montreal, of the Masson Collection at McGill University, and of what relates to Canada in the Bancroft Collection at the University of California.

The Canadian Parliament at its last session made an appropriation for a new edition of the first volume of Messrs. Shortt and Doughty's *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759–1791,* published in 1907, but now out of print.

The archives and library of the Secretaría de Hacienda in Mexico contain a mass of ecclesiastical papers seized when the government confiscated the goods of the clergy sixty years ago. The department has begun the publication of the more important manuscripts by issuing two volumes. Volume I. is entitled *Dos Insurgentes* (Mexico, 1914, pp. 262), the two insurgents being Padre Luis G. Oronoz and Fray José M. Correa, who took part in the revolution of 1810. The second volume (pp. 269) prints a number of documents hitherto unprinted, relating to the missions of California and the Pious Fund.

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The second number of the *Revista de Historia Cubana y Americana,* edited by Messrs. L. M. Pérez and F. Córdova (March–April), opens with instructions of Diego Columbus to Diego de Velázquez as *repartidor de indios,* 1522, discovered in the Archives of the Indies by Miss Irene A. Wright. The other documents presented are a letter of Azcárate to the Junta de Información, 1867, an account of the death of Peralta in 1872, by one of his companions, and a programme and letters of Gen. Máximo Gómez, 1884–1885. The third number (May–June) consists of unpublished letters of Gen. Antonio Maceo, 1877–1895, and of a diary kept by Col. Leoncio Vidal in the war of 1895–1896. All are excellently edited.

La Cultura Latino-Americana, Crónica y Bibliografía de sus Progresos is a review recently begun by the Seminary for Romance Languages and Culture in Hamburg (Cöthen, Schulze, I. 1, 1915).

We learn of the issue of a *Bibliografía Venezolanista* by Dr. Manuel S. Sanchez (Carácas, 1914), mentioned as a valuable addition to the national bibliographies.

The *Ordáz and Dortal Expeditions in Search of El Dorado, as described on Sixteenth Century Maps,* is a monograph of fifteen pages by Rudolf Schuller, which is published as *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections,* vol. LXVI., no. 4.

The political (as distinguished from notarial and judicial) archives of Dutch Guiana (Surinam), Curaçao, and St. Eustatius are about to be transferred to the Rijksarchief in the Hague.

European immigration into South America is the subject of P. Berne, *L'Immigration Européenne en Argentine* (Paris, Rivière, 1916); E. Bonardelli, *Lo Stato di S. Paolo del Brazile e l'Emigrazione Italiana* (Turin, Bocca, 1915, pp. 164); and E. Wagemann, *Die Deutschen Kolonisten im Brasilianischen Staate Espirito Santo* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1915, pp. 151).

Among recent documentary publications relating to Argentine history are R. Levillier, *Correspondencia de los Oficiales Reales de Hacienda del Rio de la Plata con las Reyes de España, reunida en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla* (Madrid, Rivadeneyra, 1915, vol. I., 1540–1596, pp. xv, 535), *Correspondencia de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires con los Reyes de España, reunida en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla* (Buenos Aires, 1915, vol. I., 1588–1615, pp. xv, 471); and R. Levene, *Comercio de Indias, Antecedentes Legales, 1713–1778* (Buenos Aires, Comp. Sud-Americana, 1915, pp. 463), published as the fifth volume of the *Documentos para la Historia Argentina.*

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Seler, *Beobachtungen und Studien in den Ruinen von Palenque* [Yucatan] (Abhandlungen der K.

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Preussischen Akademie, 1915, V., pp. 128); K. E. Imberg, *Studien zur Geschichte der Englischen Besteuerung in den Nordamerikanischen Kolonien im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XIII. 3); M. Marion, *De la Participation Financière de la France à la Guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine* (Revue du Dix-Huitième Siècle, January); C. S. Blue, *John Henry the Spy* (Canadian Magazine, May); R. B. Merriman, *The Monroe Doctrine: its Past and Present Status* (Political Quarterly, [London], March); Gamaliel Bradford, *Charles Sumner* (Yale Review, April); Major Thomas Rowland, C. S. A., *Letters of a Virginia Cadet at West Point, 1859–1861*, cont. (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); O. G. Villard, *The Submarine and the Torpedo in the Blockade of the Confederacy* (Harper's Monthly, June); E. W. Knight, *Reconstruction and Education in Virginia*, cont. (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); G. M. Dutcher, *National Safety of the United States, Past and Future* (*ibid.*); S. K. Hornbeck, *La Politique des États-Unis en Extrême-Orient* (Revue Politique Internationale, January); D. C. Johnson, *Courts in the Philippines, Old and New* (Michigan Law Review, February); Pierre-Georges Roy, *Un Conseil de Guerre à Montréal (1757)* (Revue Canadienne, March); A. W. H. Eaton, *Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia*, V. (Americana, January); J. Hector La Pointe, *Le Projet d'Union de 1822* (Revue Canadienne, April); M. Boucher de la Bruère, *Sir Hippolyte La Fontaine: son Rôle et son Action au Milieu de la Tourmente de 1837–1838* (*ibid.*); Irene A. Wright, *Los Orígenes de la Industria Azucarera en Cuba* (La Reforma Social, [New York], April); E. Giberga, *Las Ideas Políticas en Cuba durante el Siglo XIX.* (Cuba Contemporánea, April); A. Zayas, *Un Capítulo de la Historia General de Cuba, 1867–1868* (*ibid.*, May).

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